

MISCELLANEOUS
WORKS

Of His Late EXCELLENCY

MATTHEW PRIOR, Esq;

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME the FIRST containing

The HISTORY of His OWN TIME. Compiled from His Original Manuscripts. Revised and signed by Himself, and copied fair for the Press by Mr. ADRIAN DRIFT, his Executor.

I had rather be thought a good Englishman, than the best Poet or greatest Scholar that ever wrote.
MATT. PRIOR.

[This Work, pursuant to Mr. Prior's last Will and Testament, contains a full Account of His political Life, viz. His Negotiations, Commissions, Warrants, and Letters, from his first Entrance into public Business to his Death; and contains the Letters which passed between Him and the Lords Manchester, Jersey, Dursley, Duke of Shrewsbury, Earl of Hallifax, &c. Mr. Prior's Journal of his Transactions in France from 1713 to 1715, and the Letters which passed between Him, the Lord Dartmouth, Lord Bolingbroke, &c. the Proceedings against Mr. Prior at his Return Home, with what passed at his Examination before a Committee of the Privy Council; drawn up by Himself; and his Answer to the Report of the Committee of Secrecy.

VOLUME the SECOND containing

A New COLLECTION of POEMS: Consisting of EPISTLES, TALES, SATIRES, EPIGRAMS, &c. with some Select Latin Performances written by Mr. PRIOR while at St. John's College, Cambridge. Now first published from His Original Manuscripts. Revised by Himself, and copied fair for the Press by Mr. ADRIAN DRIFT, his Executor.

D U B L I N :

Printed for G. RISK, G. EWING, and W. SMITH, in Dame-street, and G. FAULKNER in Essex-street, Booksellers. M DCC XL.



Jane A. P. THE Jane O'Neill 1838

HISTORY

OF

His Own Time.

Compiled from the

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

Of His late EXCELLENCY

MATTHEW PRIOR, Esq;

Revised and Signed by Himself, and Copied fair
for the Press

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M DCC·XL



MDCCXII

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDWARD

Earl of OXFORD.

My LORD,

TH O' I presume to dedicate the following Work to Your Lordship, under the Title of *The History of Mr. PRIOR's Own Time*, I am conscious how little it resembles what Your Lordship might have expected, had Mr. PRIOR lived to finish such an History Himself.

DEDICATION.

But the chief Materials are entirely His, and on that single Account merit Your Lordship's Regard, however inartificially the Edifice may have been raised. The Taste in general may have a *Gothic* Appearance, but the Workmanship of the Capital Parts is unquestionably *Roman*.

As to what little I have added of my own, or collected from other Writers, in order to fill up the Chasms between Mr. PRIOR's Papers, and connect them in an Historical Form, if it barely answers this honest Purpose, I would hope the Present I now make will not be unacceptable, either to Your Lordship or the Public.

In Mr. PRIOR's Papers, Your Lordship knows, the Peruser will meet with many curious Anecdotes, that are not to be found in any other Memoirs of the same Times: He will see the Motives of many public Transactions, which are usually

DEDICATION.

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usually censured and applauded without being sufficiently known : He will, in particular, be led thro' the Management of the late War, and the weighty Arguments which prevailed in the following Negotiations of Peace : He will discover the Violence, and at the same Time the Impotence of Party-Malice, against a Gentleman whose only Crime was acting up to his Commission, and executing faithfully his Sovereign's Warrants : He will extract a Vindication of Your Great Father, and the other illustrious Persons embarked in the same National Cause, by One who knew them better, and was in Himself an honest Man, than any of Those who have since been employed to blacken their Memory.

I should not have mentioned Your Lordship's Character, had not Mr. PRIOR Himself drawn it in a Piece that cannot be suspected of Flattery, when he intreated You to accept the Execution of his last Will and Testament : But I cannot help reflecting
with

DEDICATION.

with Pleasure, that it is to that very Lord HARLEY whom Mr. PRIOR esteemed, in his last Moments, *The justest and kindest Man he should leave behind him in the World*, that I now beg Leave to subscribe,

My LORD,

Your Lordships

Most obedient, and

Most devoted

Humble Servant,

J. Bancks,

P R E F A C E.

MR. PRIOR's Epitaph in *Westminster-abbey*, composed by the learned Dr. *Friend*, by informing the World that he was * *writing the History of his Own Time, when Death, by a lingering Fever, put a Period both to his Work and his Life,* has long made it a Matter of Certainty that he left behind him a great Number of Manuscript Papers, which, considering the Part he bore himself in many national Transactions, the Opportunities he had of being well informed concerning others, and the extraordinary Talents he possessed for every Part of fine Literature, could not fail of being very valuable, and of the utmost Importance to the Publick. It was much regretted therefore, that we had been hitherto deprived of these

* Sui Temporis Historiam Meditanti
Paulatim obrepens Febris
Operis simul, & Vitæ, Filum abruptit,
Sept. 18. An. Dom. MDCCLXXI.

Manu]

Manuscripts, and, what was worse, had but little Prospect of ever seeing them appear, unless they got into other Hands than those who had kept them so long concealed.

How they were at first disposed of, we cannot better learn than from a Paragraph of Mr. PRIOR's Will, which bears Date *August* the 9th, 1721.

“ All my Manuscripts, Negotiations,
 “ Commissions, and all Papers whatsoever, whether of my publick Employments or private Studies, I leave
 “ to my Lord *Harley* and Mr. *Adrian Drift*, my Executors, or either of
 “ them, having first burned such as
 “ may not be proper for any future Inspection.

MATT. PRIOR.

Pursuant to the Clause here recited, the Original Papers devolved to Mr. *Adrian Drift*, who had before beautifully transcribed most of them for the Press, by Mr. PRIOR's own Direction, and as corrected by Himself. The same Gentleman copied them for the Earl of *Oxford*, his Right Honourable Co-executor. He then gave them to a most intimate Friend, soon after the Decease of Mr. PRIOR, with a strict Injunction not to publish them till after the Death of him, the said Mr. *Drift*, which happened.

pen'd at the Beginning of the Year 1738, when he was buried in *Westminster-Abbey*, according to his earnest Desire, near the Remains of his Dear Master.

From this Time some Hopes were conceived that they might ere long be brought out of that Obscurity, to which the Author seems to have condemned them, and in which they were hitherto inviolably kept. Mr. *Drift* being dead, the Obligation on his Friend was of course no longer binding. It would be a great Injury to Society in general, if the Writings of great Men, and even such Fragments as were worthy of *future Inspection*, were to be for ever buried, merely because the Writers were not so happy as to give them to the Public themselves: And that nothing of Mr. PRIOR's was preserved, but what was judged worthy of such Inspection, we may gather from Mr. *Drift*'s punctual Regard for all the other Particulars of his Will.

After the Death of the late *Charles Forman*, Esq; * who had these Manuscripts in his Possession, and intended to publish them with all convenient Expedition, they were delivered to me; and I have endeavoured with all Faithfulness to execute the Part which Mr. *Forman*

* Mr. *Forman* died April 28, 1739, and was buried at St. *Dunstan's* in *Fleet-street*.

had taken on him. How I have proceeded, the Reader shall know in a very few Words.

Mr. PRIOR having come into public Employment at the Beginning of King *William's* Reign, and continued therein till the Accession of his Majesty King *George*; after which he went through a very troublesome Scene that lasted about two Years; I immediately concluded it must be by those two remarkable Periods, the Beginning of his Employments and the End of his Troubles, that his intended History of his Own Time was to have been circumscribed: In which Opinion I was confirmed by the Papers before me. My Business then was to borrow such other Assistance as was necessary to introduce and connect the Manuscripts, and give the whole Work a Form, as much as I could, like that which, in my private Judgment, the Author himself had intended to give it. This is what I have aimed at in the Prose Volume.

Of the Poems (which have not yet been mentioned) I need only say that they came thro' the same Channel as the Pieces in Prose. Most of them, I doubt not, will testify their own Original. And besides the Satisfaction of reading so many new Pieces of Mr. PRIOR, the Judicious will enjoy no small Pleasure in looking

looking over those of his Friends to Himself, which, contrary to the Custom of other Poets, he modestly suppressed during his Life The *Latin* Version of *Solomon*, which we have also added, as it has been universally applauded, cannot but be very acceptable.

Before I conclude this Preface, I must observe, by way of Note to the Satire called *The Viceroy*, that Lord *Coningsby* and Sir *Charles Porter* were Lords Justices of *Ireland* in 1693. And in the next Session of Parliament a Charge of High Treason was preferred against them in the *English* House of Commons, by the Earl of *Bellamont*, for Excesses of Power exercised during their Administration: But the Earl laying his Charge too high, the Commons resolved, That there were not sufficient Grounds to support it, and so the Measures complained of, as arbitrary and violent, passed without Examination.

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AN
HISTORY
OF THE
NEGOTIATIONS
OF

MATTHEW PRIOR, *Esq;*

B EING to write only of Mr. PRIOR's *Mr. Prior's* Public, or Political Life, it would be Youth mis-needless to take any Notice of his Fa-represented. mily and Education, were it not to obviate an erroneous Opinion, which has been industriously propagated by some People, who have represented him *as rais'd from the Bar of a Tavern*. How, and whence this Story had its Rise, and in what a fallacious Dress it has been handed down, may be easily discovered by those who are acquainted with the Virulence of Party Prejudice.

This excellent Poet, industrious and able Statesman, and, what in his Opinion was the most valuable of all Characters, this truly honest
B Man,

The HISTORY of

Man, was the Son of a reputable Citizen of *London*, where he was born *July 21, 1664*. He was initiated into Literature at the royal Foundation of *Westminster*, under the learned *Dr. Busby*, and finished his Studies at *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow to the Day of his Death. How injurious therefore is *Bishop Burnet's* Account of him, in a Work which promises the utmost Impartiality, and where a *LYE* is formally condemned, in the severest Language!

Appointed
Secretary at
the *Hague*
Congress,
1690.

He went young into public Business, being appointed Secretary to King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, at the Congress held at the *Hague*, in 1690. An Assembly the most honourable to the *English* Nation that is any where to be read of! and of which, with the Occasion of it, I must here give some Account, in order to shew the Dignity and Importance of *Mr. PRIOR's* Office, even in this early Part of his Life.

Occasion of
that Con-
gress.

LEWIS XIV of *France*, for many Years before this, had been entirely guided by the Dictates of a lawless Ambition, which prompted him to think of enslaving all the neighbouring States, and of acquiring to himself no less than the Empire of *Europe*. He had been but too successful in prosecuting his Scheme; the Nations round him trembled, and nothing but their Dykes had preserved the *Dutch* from being entirely swallowed up by this common Enemy, who triumphantly wintered in one of their * capital Cities. *England* look'd contentedly on, and even favour'd the Destroyer, during the two impolitic Reigns of King *CHARLES* and King *JAMES II*. It had therefore the Privilege of being unmolested at present, that it might sink into a State of Security from the seeming Friendship of the Grand Monarch, and so become an easier Prey at a proper Season, when it had either forfeited all its Alliances, or suffered

* *Utrecht*.

its

Mr. PRIOR's Negotiations.

its Allies to be rendered incapable of affording it any Assistance.

At this critical Juncture, the young Prince of *Orange* coming of Age, was by the Suffrages of the Commonalty advanced to the Dignity of Stadtholder; an Office that had long been dormant, for want of an Heir of that illustrious Family, who was arrived at Years of Maturity. His whole Thoughts were immediately turn'd on defending his Country, and even on reducing that exorbitant Power which *France* had already obtain'd. If he was not so fortunate as the Grandeur of his Design, and the Bravery and Vigilance with which he prosecuted it, might seem to deserve, he had at least the Honour of making a glorious Stand, of shewing LEWIS that he was not altogether invincible, and of winning to himself the Character of a Hero, by the common Consent of Mankind.

When the Miscarriages of King JAMES, and the little Prospect there was of his ever aiming to correct them, had made a Revolution necessary in *England*; the Prince of *Orange*, who was sent for on this Occasion to restore our Liberties, found himself engaged by a new Motive against the *French* Monarch. The abdicated King put himself under the Protection of LEWIS, who promised to endeavour at his Restoration. Accordingly Forces were sent into *Ireland*, and a bloody War soon followed there, as well as in the *Netherlands*. I shall not, however, enter into the History of the *Irish* War, which, every one knows, ended in Favour of the Revolution, and the utter Expulsion of King JAMES out of all his Kingdoms.

But Matters on the Continent were not so suddenly over. King WILLIAM's favourite Project, during his whole Administration both in *Holland* and *England*, was to humble the *French* King, who had rendered himself formidable not to Protestants only, but even to all the Catholick Prin-

The HISTORY of

ces in Christendom. On this Principle was formed the Grand-Alliance, at the Head of which King WILLIAM appeared, and had the Pleasure to see half *Europe* unite under his Conduct, and a Senate of Princes meet to assist his Councils, and second his Wishes. We need only look over the List of illustrious Persons that met at the *Hague* on this Occasion, in order to form an Idea of the Splendor of this Assembly. LEWIS XIV, it has been justly observed, could never boast of any Thing like it. Such a Congress assembled in Honour to him, would have furnished his Poets, Painters, and Historians, with an inexhaustible Fund of Panegyric and Adulation.

The Names of the Princes, Princesses, Great Lords and Ladies, that met at the Hague in 1691, after the Arrival of his Majesty King WILLIAM III, of Great Britain.

Persons present at it.

THE Elector of *Bavaria*.
 The Elector of *Brandenburgh*.
 The Duke of *Lunenburgh Zell*.
 The Duke of *Brunswick Wolfenbittel*.
 The Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*.
 Prince *Christian Lewis* of *Brandenburgh*.
 The Marquis of *Gastanaga*, Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*.
 Prince *Waldeck*.
 The Prince of *Nassau*, Governor of *Friesland*, and *Camp-Martial*.
 The Prince of *Nassau Sarburg*.
 The Prince of *Nassau Dillenburgh*.
 The Prince of *Nassau Idstein*.
 Prince *Philip Palatine*.
 The Duke of *Saxe-Eysenach*.
 The Landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt*, and the Prince his Brother,
 The Duke Administrator of *Wittenberg*.
 The Count of *Horn*.

The

Mr. PRIOR's Negotiations.

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The Count *d' Erback*.

Lieutenant General *Wibbenam*, who died there.

Lieutenant Admiral General *Trump*.

General *Chauvet*.

General *Delwick*.

Count *d' Arco*.

Count *Sanfra*.

Count *de Riviera*.

Count *de Gryal*.

Count *de Brouay*.

Count *de Tirimont*.

Marquis *de Caste Moncayo*.

Duke *de Sultzbach*.

General *d' Autel*.

Count *de Lippe*.

General *Barfus*.

The Baron *de Pallant*.

The Prince of *Wirtemberg*, and the Prince his Brother.

The Prince of *Wirtemberg Nieustadt*.

Two Princes of *Anspach*.

The Landgrave of *Homburg*.

Three Princes of *Holsteinbeck*.

The Prince of *Anbalt Zerbest*.

The Duke of *Courland*, and the Prince his Brother.

The Duke of *Holstein*.

The Prince of *Commercy*.

The Prince *Palatine* of *Birkenfeldt*.

The Count *d' Espence*.

The Count *de Denhoff*.

The Count *de Fugger*.

Baron *Spaan*.

The Rhinegrave, and his Brother.

The Count *de Carelson*.

Count General *Palfi*.

The Princess of *Nassau*, the Governor of *Friesland's* Lady.

The Princess *Radziwil*.

The Princess of *Saxe Eysenach*.

The Countess of *Soissons*.

The HISTORY of

The English Nobility that came with the King.

THE Duke of *Norfolk*.
 The Duke of *Ormond*.
 Duke of *Schomberg*.
 Count *Meinard Schomberg*, his Brother.
 The Earl of *Devonshire*.
 The Earl of *Dorset*.
 The Earl of *Drumlanrig*.
 The Earl of *Essex*.
 The Earl of *Nottingham*.
 The Earl of *Derby*.
 The Earl of *Portland*.
 The Earl of *Monmouth*.
 The Earl of *Scarborough*.
 The Earl of *Selkirk*.
 Mr. Comptroller *Wharton*.
 The Bishop of *London*.
 Monsieur *Auverquerque*.

The Names of Envoys, Envoys Extraordinary, &c.

THE Count de <i>Windisgrats</i>	}	From the Emperor.
The Count de <i>Berka</i>		
The Chevalier <i>Camprecht</i>		
Count <i>Pialet</i>	}	From <i>Savoy</i> .
President de la <i>Tour</i>		
Count <i>Rebenklau</i>	}	From <i>Denmark</i> .
Monsieur <i>Lenthe</i>		
Count <i>Oxenstern</i> , from <i>Sweden</i> .		
Don <i>Emanuel de Colona</i> , from <i>Spain</i> .		
Monf. <i>Achshausen</i> , from <i>Saxony</i> .		
The Baron of <i>Boomgarten</i>	}	From <i>Bavaria</i> .
Monf. <i>Prielmeyer</i>		
Monf. <i>Van Dieft</i>	}	From <i>Brandenburgh</i> .
Monf. <i>Smettau</i>		
The Baron de <i>Leyen</i>	}	From <i>Trevis</i> .
Monf. <i>Campagne</i>		

Monf.

Mr. PRIOR's Negotiations.

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Monf. Talberg	}	From Mentz.
Monf. Meyers		
General and Baron Bersau	}	From Cologne.
Monf. Solemaker		
Monf. de Norf, from Munfter.		
Monf. Berendorf, from Lunenburgh-Zell.		
Monf. Zegel, from Lunenburgh.		
Baron Gorts	}	From Hefse Caffel.
Monf. Keppelaer		
Baron Arfek, from Brunfwick-Wolfenfuttal.		
Monf. Klecht, from Hanover.		
Monf. Hetterman, from the Elector Palatine.		
Monf. Moreau, from Poland.		
Monf. Feurkens, from Holstein-Gottorp.		
Counfellor Mean, from Liege.		
Monf. —, from Hamburgh.		

For the States of *Holland*, were *Messieurs Heinsus* and *Dyckvelt*; the former being Grand Pensionary: And for the King of *Great Britain*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Portland*, and Lord *Dursley*, afterwards Earl of *Berkley*, his Majesty's Ambassador to the States.

There had been Conferences held at the *Hague*, in the Chamber of *Treves*, among the Ministers of the confederate Princes, from the 16th of the preceding *March*, in 16⁹². But the Necessity they were under of pursuing more vigorous Measures, for the common Safety, and the Presence of so August a Monarch, on whose Valour and Conduct they all depended, had now brought together the Princes themselves, and formed a more glorious Constellation than any Age can parallel.

It was at these solemn Assemblies that Mr. PRIOR, through the Favour of his Patron, the Great Earl of *Dorset*, and the * Sollicitation of

* See his Epistle to *Fleetwood Shephard*, Esq; which begins, *While crouding Folks with strange ill Faces, &c.*

The HISTORY of

his Friend Mr. Shephard, made his first Appearance in public Business. And how well he discharged himself of the Trust reposed in him, we may learn from his future Employments, which were almost continual during the Reign of King WILLIAM, and his glorious Successor.

The following Letter of Mr. PRIOR, which wants the Date of the Year, but appears to be written from the *Hague*, to a Son of Lord *Dursley's*, seems to belong to the Time we are now upon, and is therefore here inserted, with a Translation.

Carolo de Berkely, dilecto Domino suo, Matthæus Prior, S^m. P^m. D^t.

A Letter of
Mr. Prior's.

Litteras tuas, mi Charissime, Sorori tuæ dilectissimæ scriptas, accepimus, atque perlegimus, quando nihil secreti iis inesse credibile esset. Domesticæ nostræ res quomodo se habent, brevi accipias. Mater tua hic est; Fraterculum pulcherrimum, et tui simillimum, ex Angliâ sibi transportavit. Soror tua natû maxima, cum Aritâ Nelson, Angliam profecta est, ad recuperandam Sanitatem, quâ malâ profectò in Hollandiâ usa est. Jam vero subirasci tibi debeo, nec injuriâ, quia Epistolas nobis nec Latinè, nec Gallicè scriptas mandare curas. Incumbas studiis, oro, et fac ut videamus Progressus, quos Te octodecim jam menses audientem Præceptores optimos fecisse in utrâque linguâ oportet. Hoc Pater tuus, hoc tuum postulat Officium. Quod ad me attinet, eâ solummodo conditione Parentes tuos optimos exorandos conabor, quò nos revises brevi. Hoc quoque sibi scriptum Frater tuus credat. Præceptores tuos, Amicos mihi optimos, meo nomine salutata. Fac Me ames; Te æternum amabo. Vale.

Hagæ Comitum
Pridie Nonas Septembris.

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To the Honourable Mr. Charles Berkeley, MATTHEW PRIOR *wisheth Health and Peace.*

Dear Sir,

WE have receiv'd your Letter to your Sister, and as there did not seem to be any Secret in it, I took the Liberty to read it over. I will inform you in a few Words of the present State of our Affairs. Your Mother is here; and your pretty little Brother, so very much like yourself, is brought over from *England* to her. Your eldest Sister is gone to *England*, with your Aunt *Nelson*, in order to recover her Health; having been very sickly ever since she has resided in *Holland*. And now, my dear *Charles*, I ought to be a little angry with you, not without Reason, that in all this Time you have not sent us one Letter either in *Latin* or *French*. I beg you would apply yourself to your Studies, and let us receive some Testimony of that Progress, which it is requisite you should have made in both Tongues, after having been eight Months under the best Preceptors. This is what your Father expects, and your own Duty exacts of you. As for my Part, I assure you, it is on this Condition only that I will endeavour to prevail on your kind Parents, to let you come over soon and see us. I would have your Brother believe too, that this is written to him as well as yourself. Pray give my humble Service to your Tutors, my very good Friends: And continue to love me, as I eternally shall you."

Hague, Sept. 4.

The Grand Congress opened in *January*, 1690, when King WILLIAM set forth the Occasion of it, in a Speech to the following Purport.

King Wil-
liam's Speech
at the open-
ing of the
Congress.

He represented, " That the imminent Dan-
gers in which they found themselves, sufficient-
ly discovered the Errors that had been com-
mitted ; so that he had no need to use many
Arguments, to shew them the Necessity of
taking juster and better Measures : That in the
Circumstances they were in, it was not a
Time to deliberate, but to act : That the Ene-
my was Master of all the chief Fortresses,
which were the Barriers of the common Liber-
ty ; and that he would soon possess himself of
all the rest, if a Spirit of Division, Slowness,
and particular Interest continued amongst them :
That every one ought to remain persuaded,
that their respective particular Interests were
comprised in the general One : That the Ene-
my's Forces were very strong, and would car-
ry Things like a Torrent before them : That
it was in vain to oppose with fruitless Clamours
and Complaints, or unprofitable Protestations
against Injustice : That it was neither the Re-
solution of a barren Diet, nor the Hopes of
some Men of Fortune, arising from frivolous
Foundations ; but Soldiers, strong Armies, and
a prompt and severe Union between all the
Forces of the Allies, that must do the Work ;
and that these must be brought to oppose the
Enemy without Delay, if they would put a
Stop to his Conquests, and snatch out of his
Hands the Liberties of *Europe*, which he held
already under a heavy Yoke : Concluding,
that as for himself, he would neither spare his
Credit, Forces, nor Person, to concur with
them in so just and necessary a Design ; and
that he would come in the Spring at the Head
of his Troops, faithfully to make good his
royal Word, which he had solemnly engaged
to them."

The Effect.

This pathetic, as well as severe Speech, from
a Prince, to whom all the Members that compo-
sed that illustrious Body paid a respectful Defer-

ence,

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ence, and in whose Judgment and Experience they placed an entire Confidence, could not but produce the desired Effect in the End; though for a while, particular Interests continued to reign in the Breasts of many, and obstructed the salutary Resolutions the King had so strenuously recommended to them. This occasioned their Sitting till the Middle of *March*, in which Time they came to these weighty Conclusions: *viz.*

1. Not to make Peace with LEWIS XIV, till all their Grievances were redress'd; and 2, to employ * 222,000 Men against *France*. But it appeared afterwards, that this Number would not do, and that the *German* Princes were always both backward and deficient in furnishing their Quotas.

Though the other Allies were slack in sending in their Contingents, the King of *Great Britain*, who was vigorous and hearty in the Cause he had espoused, was as careful as possible that no Neglect should ever be charged on him. The Queen, who reign'd in his Absence, borrowed this Year large Sums of the City of *London*, which they chearfully sent in upon her Application. Having by this Means put the Fleet into a Readiness to sail, the Lord *Dursley*, their Majesty's Envoy in *Holland*, had early Orders to inform the States of it, and at the same Time to press them to hasten their own Fleet, that it might be ready to join the *English*.

* According to the Plan then agreed on, the Emperor was to furnish 20,000 Men; the King of *Spain*, in *Flanders*, 20,000; the King of *England*, 20,000; the States General, 35,000; the Duke of *Savoy*, including the Troops from *Milan*, 20,000; the Elector of *Bavaria*, 18,000; the Elector of *Saxony*, 12,000; the Landgrave of *Hesse*, 8,000; the Circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, 10,000; the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, 6,000; the Elector of *Brandenburg*, 20,000; the Prince of *Liege*, 6,000; the Bishop of *Munster*, 7,000; the Elector *Palatine*, 4,000; the Prince of *Lunenburg*, 16,000.

Neither

The Allies
unsuccessful
in 1692, and
1693.

Neither this Campaign, however, nor any of the succeeding ones, were so advantageous to the Allies, as to make them desire a Continuation of the War. In the two following Years they lost the Battles of *Steenkirk* and *Landen*, in both which the Confederates were commanded by his *Britannick* Majesty, and the *French* by the victorious *Luxemburgh*. The greatest Success King WILLIAM had to boast of, during the whole War, was the Taking of *Namur* in 1695. That Place, which was very strong by Nature, had in it a Garrison of 15,000 Men, well provided with all Necessaries for many Months, had Store of Ammunition, 100 Pieces of Cannon, 12 Mortars, and 10,000 spare Muskets. This made the King's Enterprize thereon be esteemed an Act of the greatest Temerity, and as such it was severely censured by his Enemies. But notwithstanding all the Difficulties attending it, this great Work, which was thought too much for a whole Campaign, was entirely finished in the Space of § a Month, to the immortal Honour of the *English* Monarch, and the utter Confusion of the *French* Party.

§ Between
July 3, and
August 4.
Mr. Prior's
Ballad on
Namur.

Mr. PRIOR's Muse, which had already been * more than once engaged in the Service of his Master, had now a fair Opportunity given her of displaying her exquisite Humour, in the most agreeable Manner. The *French* King had taken *Namur* in the Campaign of 92, in Sight of the Army of the Allies, who were unable to raise the Siege. This was extolled by the Flatterers of that Prince, as a most inimitable Action; and the celebrated *Boileau*, who always mix'd the Praises of his Master with some Strokes of Satire on his cotemporary Writer, had composed an Ode on this Occasion in Imitation of *Pindar*, wherein he pretended to assert the Character of

* In his Hymn to the Sun on *New-Year's-Day*, 1694, and his Ode to the King after the Queen's Death, 1695.

that

that Antient against the Reflections of *Perrault*, at the same Time that he exalted his Hero above all the Heroes of *Greece*. Mr. PRIOR took this Occasion of turning the *Frenchman's* darling Ridicule both on himself and his Master, by burlesquing his boasted Ode in an *English* Ballad, and printing it together with the *French*: In a Word, he convinced all polite Readers, who are generally of no Party in Matters of Wit, that the *English* HORACE was as much a more agreeable Writer than the *French* PINDAR, as he had made *Little Will*, the Scourge of *France*, a more amiable Hero than the divine *LOUIS le Grand* *.

The next Year, 1696, upon his Majesty's ^{His Verses} Arrival in *Holland*, after the Discovery of the ^{on the Con-} Conspiracy against him, Mr. PRIOR presented ^{spiracy.} him with a beautiful Copy of Verses address'd to the Guardian Angels of Mankind; wherein by an Art peculiar to himself, he pays the highest Compliments without the Appearance of Flattery.

The Apostrophe in this Poem to the *French* King, who was by many supposed to be privy to the intended Assassination, contains a Sentiment that is truly *British*.

O LEWIS, from this great Example know
To be at once a Hero, and a Foe.

By sounding Trumpets, hear, and rattling
Drums,

When WILLIAM to the open Vengeance comes;
And see the Soldier plead the Monarch's Right,
Heading his Troops, and Foremost in the Fight.

Hence then close Ambush and perfidious War,
Down to your native Seats of Night prepare,
&c.

* The Posthumous Volume of Poetry, published with this, has an Epigram on the same Subject, p. 17.

Negotiations of Peace.

As both Parties, by this Time, were quite weary of the War; the latter End of the Year 1696, and the Beginning of 1697, were entirely taken up in Negotiations of Peace. The confederate Army in *Flanders*, hearing of the Defeat of the Plot against his Majesty, took an Opportunity before the Opening of the Campaign in 96, to express their Resentment against the *French*, who were to have invaded *England* if the Assassination had succeeded. They burned their Magazines at *Givet*, and thereby reduced them to the greatest Extremity. Besides the *French* had entirely exhausted their Country, by keeping such numerous Armies on foot; so that Men, as well as Provisions, began to fail them. The *English* also were in some Straights, occasioned chiefly by the Recoinage of the Money; and it was with the utmost Difficulty that their Generals could provide Subsistence for their Troops. In short, tho' the Campaign was this Year opened, it was all spent in Observation only, neither Side finding it convenient to come to Action.

1696.

The *French*, some Time before the King's Arrival at the Beginning of the Year, had sent Monsieur *Caillieres* to the *Hague*, offering to acknowledge his Majesty's Title, and to deliver up some considerable Places as a Barrier against *France*. The *Dutch* began to listen to the Proposals, but would do nothing without the King of *Great Britain*, who was also their Stadtholder. Monsieur *Caillieres*, however seemed to concede all that they could ask: So that Matters were soon in a very promising Way, on the Part of the *Dutch*. And the *English*, groaning under heavy Taxes, having suffered much from the Enemy's Privateers, and seeing no Prospect of gaining by the War, were rather inclined than averse to a Pacification. It was at length agreed therefore, on all Hands, through the Mediation of *CHARLES XI*, King of *Sweden*, and the

the prudent Management of his Ambassador in Holland, Baron Van Lillienroot, that Plenipotentiaries should be named, for carrying on this salutary Work.

The better to succeed in this Negotiation, the ^{Private} Court of France had been privately treating with ^{Treaty with} the Duke of Savoy, one of the most powerful ^{Savoy.} of the Allies, during the whole preceding Winter. Marshal Catinat, who commanded the French Army on that Side, and was no less an able Politician than a gallant General, had found Means to carry on the Conferences with the utmost Secrecy; and they were render'd effectual by the Interposition of the Pope's Nuncio, and the Venetian Ambassador. The Articles were signed at Loretto, whither the Duke of Savoy, who had, in fact, more of the Statesman in him than of the Bigot, went under Pretence of a religious Vow, but in reality to elude the Vigilance of the Allies, whose Ministers had a very watchful Eye over his Royal Highness.

The Notification of this Treaty, at the latter End of the Summer, obliged the Allies to withdraw their Forces out of the Dominions of Savoy, in order to provide for the Security of the Milanese. The Duke of Savoy followed them closely, at the Head of the French Troops and his own, by Vertue of a Commission of Generalissimo from the most Christian King; and four Days after laid Siege to Valencia. So that his Royal Highness, in one Campaign, was seen at the Head of two contending Armies, and even for some Days commanded them both, while the Army of the Allies was yet in his Territories. An Instance this, that is hardly to be parallell'd in History.

In fine, all Things concurring to recommend ^{Congress at} a general Pacification, the Terms of it were ^{Ryswick} now brought on the Carpet. Here the first ^{agreed on.} Difficulty that arose, was about the Place for holding the Congress. Mentz or Frankfort was ^{proposed}

posed by the Emperor: But the *Dutch*, with most of their Allies, were for some Place in *Holland*. After several Debates on this Head, about the Middle of *January*, Monsieur *Cail-lieres* moved, by his Master's Orders, that the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies should reside at the *Hague*, and those of *France* at *Delft*; and that the Conferences should be held at *Ryswick*, a Palace belonging to King *WILLIAM*, which stood at an equal Distance between both Places. This Motion was approved of by the Confederates, and it was settled accordingly. After which the Preliminaries were concluded, and signed the 10th of *February*, at the *Swedish* Minister's, between Monf. *Cail-lieres* and M. *Dyckvelt*. Some of the principal Articles were as follows :

1. That the Treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen*, should be the Basis of this at *Ryswick*.
2. That *Stratsburg* should be restored to the Empire, in the same Condition the *French* took it.
3. That *Luxemburg* should be restored to the *Spaniards*, in its present Condition.
4. That *Mons* and *Charleroy* should be surrendered as they are.
5. That all Places taken by the *French* in *Catalonia*, since the Peace of *Nimeguen*, should be restored in the same Manner.
6. That *Dinant*, both City and Castle, should be given up to the Bishop of *Liege*, as they were taken.
7. That all Re-unions made by the *French*, since the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, should be void.
8. That *Lorraine* should be restored, according to the Condition of that Treaty.
9. That the Principality of *Orange* should be given up to its Sovereign.

It was farther agreed, that provided the Peace were concluded, the most Christian King should, at the Time it was signed, own and acknowledge the Prince of *Orange* as King of *Great Britain*, without any Difficulty, Limitation, Condition, or Reserve.

But after the Preliminaries were settled, the Death of the King of *Sweden*, the Mediator, and the Succession of *Charles XII*, a Minor to his Throne, occasioned some Delay in the Negotiations. This Obstruction, however, was soon removed, by the Regency of that Kingdom, who sent a new Commission to their Ambassador, *M. de Lillienroot*, who by his prudent Regulations much forwarded the Conferences. For he enjoin'd, that to carry on the Treaty with the greater Ease, all Precedency should be laid aside, and the Titles of Princes should be of no Consequence.

The Ceremonial being settled, the Baron appointed the 9th Day of *May* for beginning the Conferences. *Ryswick-House*, the Place of Meeting, was found so convenient on this Occasion, that it seem'd as if built on Purpose for the Seat of a Treaty. It was divided into three grand Apartments, which, though all separate, had yet a Communication with one another. The Ambassadors of the Allies had one Side allotted them, and those of *France* the other; the Mediator's Office being in the Middle between both. They had all different Avenues, so as not to obstruct one another in passing backwards and forwards.

The Names of their Excellencies the Ambassadors, Plenipotentiaries, publick Ministers, Envoys, &c. that assembled at the Congress of the general Peace, at the Palace of Ryfwick, called Newburg-House.

England.

THOMAS Earl of *Pembroke and Montgomery*, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal of *England*, Privy-Councillor to his *Britannick* Majesty, one of the Lords Justices of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, Principal Extraordinary Ambassador and Plenipotentiary of the Treaties of Peace.

Edward Viscount *Villiers of Dartford*, Knight Marshal of *England*, Envoy Extraordinary from his *Britannick* Majesty to the States-General, and one of the Lords Justices for the Kingdom of *Ireland*, Extraordinary Ambassador at the Treaties of Peace.

Robert Lord *Lexington*, one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Bed-chamber, and his Extraordinary Envoy to his Imperial Majesty, Ambassador Plenipotentiary at the Treaties of Peace.

Sir Joseph Williamson, Knight, Privy-Councillor to his Majesty, Keeper of the Records, and Member of Parliament, Extraordinary Ambassador and Plenipotentiary at the Treaties of Peace.

Mr. MATTHEW PRIOR, Gentleman of the King's Bed-Chamber, and nominated principal Secretary of *Ireland*, Secretary to the Embassy for the Peace.

Bavaria.

The Baron *de Prielmeyer*, *Monf. Richard* his Secretary.

Brandenburgh.

Monf. de Smettau, *Monf. de Denkelman*, and *Monf. Charles Adolph* Secretary.

Brunswick.

Mr. PRIOR's Negotiations.

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Brunswick-Lunenbourg-Hanover.

Baron *Bothmar*, and M. *Stambke* Secretary.
Cologn.

Baron *de Mean.*

Denmark.

Christian Sigifred de Plessen, Lord of *Parin* and *Houkendorf*; *Christian de Lent*, Lord of *Sarlhaussen*; Mess. *Pauwese* and *Vernekren* Secretaries.

Emperor.

The Count *de Kaunitz*, the Count *de Straatman* and *Bearbach*, and Baron *de Seilern*; M. *Hayeck* Secretary.

France.

Monf. *de Harlay*, Lord *de Boneuil*; Monf. *de Verjus*, Count *de Cercy*; Monf. *de Caillieres*, Lord of *Caillieres*.

Mentz.

The Baron *de Schouborn.*

Palatinate.

The Count *de Weeblen.*

Spain.

Don *Francisco Bernardo de Quiros*, the Count *de Tirimont*, and Monf. *Brulè* Secretary.

Sweden.

Charles Bonde, Count *de Biærnæce*; *Nicholas Baron de Lillienroot*; *Charles Baron de Frisendorf* Secretary.

Saxony.

Baron *de Boscu*, and Monf. *Kerchner* Secretary.

The States-General.

James Borel, Lord of *Duynbeeck*; Pensionary *Heinsius*; *Everhard de Weede*, Lord of *Dyckvelt*; Monf. *William de Haaren*; Monf. *Bruxinx* Secretary.

For the Empire.

Triers.

Baron *Leyen*, Lord of *Saffig*,

Aufbourg.

John Christopher de Dierheim, Councillor.

Austria

The HISTORY of

*Austria.**Francis Rodolph, Baron of Helden.**Baden Baden.**Charles Ferdinand, Baron Phittersdorf.**Bremen and Deux-Ponts.**Monf. Snoilsky, Councillor to the King of Sweden.**Brunswick-Lunenbourg.**Monf. Huncken Resident.**Brunswick and Wolfenbuttel.**Baron Frederic de Steinbourg.**Brunswick, Lunenbourg, Zell, and Wolfenbuttel.**Monf. Seigel Resident.**Cologn.**Monf. Harman Joseph Bullenger.**Denmark, for Holstein.**Monf. Detlef Nicholas de Larweneton.**Egmont.**Monf. Michael de Ghillet, Lord of Teppen.**Emperor.**The Count de Aversberg Chamberlain.**Franconia.**Baron Wolfgang Philip de Schrottenberg.**Francfort.**Monf. John James Muller, and Dr. John Metchior Lucius.**Hambourg.**Monf. de Bostel, Councillor and Syndic.**Hanau.**Monf. F. C. de Ecclesheim.**Hesse-Cassel.**The Baron de Goretz.**Hildesheim.**Monf. Charles Paul de Zimmermans.**Leige.**Monf. Norf, Resident at the Hague.**Lorrain.**Baron Claudius Francis Canon, and Baron Joseph le Begue.**Lubeck.**Monf. George Randau, Provost and Syndic.**Mentz.*

Mentz.

Monf. Ignatius Anthony Ottin, and Monf. George William Moll.

Munster.

The Baron de Plettenbourg de Lenhausen.

Nemours, Ducheſs of

Monf. Bourret, Counſellor and Treafurer.

Orleans, Duke of,

Monf. the Abbot Thejeu,

Palatine Neubourg.

Monf. John Henry Hettermann.

Portugal.

Monf. Pacieco, Envoy to the States.

Rhine, Upper.

Monf. de Savigny.

Salm.

Monf. d'Uſling.

Savoy.

Monf. Philibert de la Tour, Baron of Bourdeaux.

Monf. Francis de Prichignono, Count de Caſtel-
lengo.

Saxe-Colbourg.

Monf. the Baron de Hagen.

Saxe-Gotha.

Monf. d'Aveman.

Straſbourg, Biſhop of,

Monf. Herman de Halveren.

Suabia.

Monf. Frederick de Durheimb, and Monf. de
Kulpis.

Suabia, Prelates and Deputies of

Monf. Anthony Eusebius, Baron of Walden.

Tremouille, Prince of,

Monf. John Gabriel de Sanginiere, Lord of Cha-
raufac.

Treves.

Monf. John Henry Keyſer-velt.

Teutonic Order.

Monf. Charles de Loes, Baron of Weſſen, and

Monf. Victor de Beugbern.

Wetteravia,

The HISTORY of

Wetteravia, Counts of,
 Monf. *Charles Otton*, Count of *Solms*.

Wirtemberg.
 Monf. *Anthony Gunther de Hessen*.
Wirtzbourg,

Monf. *John-Conrad-Philip Ignatius*, Baron de
Tatton.

Order of the
 first Meeting.

On the appointed Day, the Baron of *Lillien-
 root*, Ambassador of *Sweden*, and Mediator en-
 tered the Palace at half an Hour after three
 o'Clock, passing over the middle Bridge, and
 through the Great Gate of the Palace. He was
 in a Coach with six Horses, accompanied by
 two Gentlemen, who, as well as himself, were
 in Mourning for the late King.

The Baron of *Preilmeyer*, Ambassador and
 Plenipotentiary of the Elector of *Bavaria*, ar-
 rived about four o'Clock in a Coach with six
 Horses, having his Son and two Gentlemen with
 him. Soon after came Messieurs *Boreel*, *Dyck-
 velt*, and *Van Haaren*, Ambassadors and Pleni-
 potentiaries of the States-General. They, and
 their Gentlemen, were all in a Coach with six
 Horses. The Emperor's Ambassador arrived next
 with five Coaches, each drawn by six Horses;
 and three others, with two Horses each. In the
 two first Coaches were M. *Hayeck*, Secretary of
 the Embassy, with the other Secretaries and Gentle-
 men of the Household. In the third Coach, which
 was Count *Kaunitz's*, he rid himself, with Count
Straatman and the Baron of *Seilern* his Associates.
 The other Coaches were filled with Count *Kau-
 nitz's* two Sons, and other German Noblemen
 and Gentlemen, all splendidly attended. The
 King of *Spain's* Ambassadors came up a little after,
 in two Coaches with six Horses. In the first was
Don Bernard de Quiros, and the Count de *Tiri-
 mont*, attended by six Horsemen; and in the se-
 cond were their Gentlemen. These were fol-
 lowed

lowed by the Ambassadors of *England*, having two Coaches with six Horses each. The Lords *Pembroke* and *Villiers* rode in the first, and Mr. PRIOR, Secretary of the Embassy, in the second, with the other Secretaries and Gentlemen.

After these followed the Ambassadors of the several Princes of the Empire, who all arrived in less than a Quarter of an Hour's time, between four o'Clock and a Quarter after it. The Ambassadors of *France* came at three Quarters past four, with three Coaches drawn by six Horses each. *Mons. de Harlay*, the Count *de Crecy*, and *M. de Cail- lieres*, with *M. Harley*, Councillor of State, were in the first; a Gentleman on Horseback riding before them. The two other Coaches were filled with Gentlemen. These Ambassadors entered by the third Bridge, which led to the left End of the Palace; as those of the Allies had entered by that on the Right according to the establish'd Form.

All these Ambassadors being introduced by *M. Rosenboom*, the States-General's Agent, they continued the Assembly till after Seven; during which Time they delivered their Commissions to the Mediator, who was in the middle Hall. They all retired about half an Hour after Seven, the Emperor's Ambassadors first, and those of *France* last; tho' it was before agreed, that this should be looked upon as immaterial, and not to be drawn into any Consequence.

The second Meeting was on the 11th of *May*, Resolution of the second Meeting.
at Ten in the Morning, when they sat till two in the Afternoon, and agreed that their Conferences, for the Future, should be held twice a Week; on *Wednesdays*, at Nine in the Morning, and on *Saturdays*, at Four in the Afternoon; which was exactly observed during the whole Congress.

It would be foreign to our present Purpose, to give a Journal of all the Transactions of this Assembly, or to insert all the particular Articles of Peace that were made between the several Powers

Powers concerned on the one side, and the *French* King on the other. They make a Volume of themselves, which it is not difficult to procure. I will only take the Heads of those which regard *England*, and observe in general, that the Imperialists and *Spaniards* discovered a Backwardness to come into the Terms stipulated for them; but were induced however to sign the Peace, for fear of being abandoned by the *English* and *Dutch*, who suffered the *French*, during the Treaty, to take *Aeth* in *Flanders*, and *Barcelona* in *Spain*.

Articles that regard *England*.

The Articles between *Great Britain* and *France* were fourteen in Number; the most material of which were, "That all Offences, Injuries, and Damages, should be mutually forgiven: That the King of *France* on his Royal Word and Faith, would not countenance or support any Conspiracies against the King of *Great Britain*: That there should be free Commerce and Navigation between the Subjects of both Monarchs: That all Countries, Islands, Forts, and Colonies, which had been taken on either Side during the War, should be restored: That, to prevent future Contention, all Ships, Merchandizes, and other moveable Goods, which may be taken on either Side, in such Latitudes, and in to many Days after the Publication of the Peace as are severally specified, should remain to the Captors: That in case of a future Rupture, six Months should be allowed by either Prince, for the Subjects of the other to withdraw their Effects: That the Principality of *Orange*, and all other Lands belonging to the King of *Great Britain* as Prince of *Orange*, should be restored him with the Interest due."

A remarkable Particular.

This Treaty was signed by the Plenipotentiaries on the 20th of *February*, N. S. a little before Midnight, and ratified by King *WILLIAM* on the 25th of the same Month, and by the King of

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of France on the 3d of October. It appears however, that before this Ratification on the Part of his most Christian Majesty, a Difficulty was started by the French Ambassadors, on the King of Great Britain's using the Words *Rex Franciæ*; which occasioned a Warrant from his Majesty to his Plenipotentiaries, for omitting the aforesaid Title, provided they could find that it had been omitted in any former Treaty. But as the Date of the Warrant is posterior to that of the French King's Ratification, it seems as if the Omission was not insisted on at the Court of France, and that no Concession was made in Consequence of this Warrant. However, as the Original is in our Hands, and was found among Mr. PRIOR's Papers, we shall insert it here as a valuable Relick, which may deserve a Mention in future Histories.

William R.

Instructions for our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Keeper of our Privy Seal: Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin Edward Viscount Villiers, our Envoy Extraordinary to the States General, and Plenipotentiary at the Congress at the Hague: Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Councillor Robert Lord Lexington, our Envoy Extraordinary to the Emperor of Germany; and our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Councillor Sir Joseph Williamson, Knight; Our Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of a general Peace, between us jointly with our Allies, and the most Christian King. Given at our Court at Dieren this 15th Day of October 1697, in the ninth Year of our Reign.

WHEREAS we are given to understand by a Letter from MATTHEW PRIOR, Esq;
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of the 14th Instant, written by your Order, that the *French* Ambassadors had excepted against the Style of *Rex Franciæ*, in the Instrument of Ratification of the late Treaty of Peace under the Great Seal of *England*, which you offered to exchange with them, declaring withal that they would be satisfied with the said Ratification, as it is now worded, provided you declared that it should be changed if it be found otherwise in the Ratification of the Treaty of *Breda*, and other Treaties made since: And we having already directed you to declare that former Precedents should govern in that Particular: We are well pleased, that if the Ambassadors of *France* be not already come to an Agreement with you concerning the Style of the said Ratification, you do declare unto them in our Name, that in Case they do accept of the Ratification, the said Instrument shall be changed, if the Style be found otherwise in the Ratification of the Treaty of *Breda*, and of other Treaties made since; provided the said Treaties be understood to be such as have been made and ratified under the Great Seal of *England* before the Abdication of the late King *James*, or our taking Possession of the Government of that Kingdom. And for so doing, this shall be your Warrant.

W. R.

Omissions in the Treaty of *Ryſwick*. There are two remarkable Omissions in this Treaty of *Ryſwick*, that of the Interest of King *JAMES* on the Part of the King of *France*, and that of the Protestant Interest on the Part of King *WILLIAM*. *LEWIS* had solemnly promised, in an open Declaration to all *Europe*, that he would never lay down his Arms till he had restored King *JAMES* to his Throne: But the great Losses he had sustained during a long and expensive War obliged

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obliged him to alter his Resolution in so unexpected a Manner, as to occasion the Publication of a Manifesto by the abdicated Prince, wherein he complained of the Injustice done him. WILLIAM, on the other Hand, had declared himself the Protector of the *French* Refugees; yet never insisted on the Restoration of their Estates, and the free Use of their Religion in their own Country.

Soon after the Conclusion of the Peace, King WILLIAM nominated the Earl of *Portland* to be his Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*. Mr. PRIOR was appointed Secretary to this Embassy, which was short, and rather a Matter of Ceremony than Business. This Nobleman, who was a Native of *Holland*, and had been Page to the King when Prince of *Orange*, by his assiduous Fidelity had raised himself into the highest Favour, His Majesty made him a Peer of *England*, gave him the Garter, and threw away such Grants of Lands upon him, as obliged the Parliament to interpose, and put a stop to them. He gave him also the entire Government of *Scotland*, made him a Lieutenant-General, first Lord of the Bedchamber, and Privy-purse. But as the Situation of Favourites is always precarious, he saw himself supplanted by the Earl of *Albemarle*, another *Dutchman*, who had also been a Page. The growing Favour of this Rival had for some Time alarmed him, and was the Reason that he went on this Embassy with Reluctance: And indeed his Jealousy was not ill-founded; for *Albemarle*; so prevailed in his Absence, that he obliged him by several little Affronts, to lay down all his Employments. After this he was never more in Favour, though the King always shewed an Esteem for him.

Edward Lord Villiers, late Envoy Extraordinary to the States-General, and one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty of *Ryswick*, having been

Lord *Portland*'s Embassy to *France*, and his Character.

Lord *Yersey*'s Embassy to *France*, and his Character.

been created Earl of *Jersey* for his many and faithful Services, was now appointed Ambassador to the *French* Court, in about two Months after the Earl of *Portland* had made his public Entry. Mr. PRIOR continued in his Office of Secretary under this Nobleman, with whom he afterwards joined in impeaching the Partition Treaty, tho' both the one and the other was deeply concerned in the Management of that Affair. But I shall consider their Conduct, in this Particular more fully in another Place. Thus much is certain, that Mr. PRIOR was always strongly attach'd to my Lord *Jersey*, of whose Integrity and Ability he had a very high Opinion. He has paid him a * Compliment upon his fine Taste, which sufficiently confutes the Calumny of a † certain Author, "That the Earl of *Jersey* went through "all the great Offices of the Kingdom, with a "very ordinary Understanding; was employed "by one of the greatest Kings that ever was, in "Affairs of the greatest Consequence, and yet "was a Man of a weak Capacity". Is it probable that an Author of Mr. PRIOR's nice Discernment, would have so far hazarded his own Reputation, as to make that Judgment the Standard of what was exquisitely fine, which had nothing in it more than common? If Mr. PRIOR was an intire Creature of my Lord *Jersey*'s, as the same Author invidiously affirms, it was owing to the Deference he paid to his good Sense, and not merely to support him by his Advice, without being engaged by his Merit. But this by the Way only.

Lord Manchester's Embassy to Venice, and his Character. About the same Time that Lord *Portland* was sent to *Paris*, the Earl of *Manchester* was dispatch'd to *Venice*. That Republick was the last of the considerable Powers in *Europe*, not engaged in the War against us, which would not ac-

* In the Prologue of *Paulo Purganti*.

† Mr. *Macarty*, in his *Memoirs*, &c.

knowledge King WILLIAM's Title. But after Admiral *Ruffel* had appeared with a Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, and the Conclusion of a general Peace seemed unavoidably at hand, they deputed a solemn Embassy to *London*, to compliment his Majesty. It was in Return of this Embassy that the Earl of *Manchester* was sent; a Nobleman, who had always been zealous in the Cause of Liberty, and, at his own Expence, had accompany'd the King into *Ireland* as a Volunteer, with a very handsome Retinue; was at the Battle of the *Boyne*, and the Siege of *Limerick*; for which generous Service, after the Reduction of that Kingdom, he was made Captain of the Band of Yeomen. He resided at *Venice* during the successive Embassies of the Earls of *Portland* and *To France*. *Jersey* at the Court of *France*, and then succeeded the latter at that Court, where he continued * much longer than either of his Predecessors, and at a Time that will give us frequent Occasion to mention him, in the subsequent Sheets.

Mr. PRIOR remained at *Paris* till after Lord Mr. Prior in *Manchester*'s Audiences were over, and then came *England*. to *England*, to serve again under the Earl of *Jersey*, who was advanced to be one of the principal Secretaries of State, upon the Resignation of the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. His Correspondence during this long Residence in *France*, was not found among his Papers, which probably was owing to the Prosecutions that soon after followed, against those who had projected the Treaties of Partition. But we have one remarkable Story of him at this Time, which must not here be omitted, as it contains an Instance of his delicate Satire, and gallant Loyalty to his Master.

One of the Officers of the *French* King's Household shewing him the Royal Apartments and Curiosities at *Versailles*, especially the Paintings

His Answer
to a French
Courtier.

* From May 1699, to September 1701.

The HISTORY of

of *Le Brun*, wherein the Victories of *LEWIS XIV.* was beautifully described, ask'd him, "Whether King *WILLIAM's* Actions were also "to be seen in his Palace". "No Sir, answered "Mr. *PRIOR*; the Monuments of my Master's "Actions are to be seen every where but in his "own House." It was hardly possible, in so few Words, to pay a finer Compliment to King *WILLIAM*, and at the same Time, to pass a juster and more poignant Censure upon the Vanity of the Grand Monarch, of whose Actions there were more Monuments in his own Palaces, and in the Worksof *Boileau*, than in the whole World besides.

Though we have not any Remains of Mr. *PRIOR's* preliminary Transactions to the first Partition-Treaty, yet as it is probable from the Office he was in, that some of the Management of it must have lain upon him, I shall here give a short Account of that Affair, and of the Change that immediately followed it, which disconcerted all the Measures then taken, and gave rise to a second Treaty under the same Name. Mr. *PRIOR* was concern'd in this also, though perhaps against his Judgment even at that Time; as he, with many others might foretel the fatal Consequences that ensued. But doubtless King *WILLIAM*, who drove on these Treaties seemingly against the Opinion of his ablest Ministers, was convinced in his own Mind, that they were the only Means then left of preserving the Balance of Power.

Occasion of
the first Par-
tition Treaty

* *Europe* had continued for some Time after the Peace of *Ryswick*, in a State of Tranquility: But the Health of the King of *Spain* declining very fast, it was justly apprehended, that he would die without Issue. For this Reason the *French* King kept up a very considerable Army, and made all the necessary Preparations for sending out great Numbers of Men of War and Gal-

* *Cole's* Memoirs, p. 29, &c.

Mr. PRIOR's Negotiations.

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lies, in order to seize upon *Spain* as soon as the present Monarch was dead. His *Britannick* Majesty, who beheld this, and knew the Intrigues and Pretences of *France*, knew also that his own Subjects would be averse to a new War, which could not be carried on without many additional Taxes, after having found the last so very burthensome. He saw himself, and all *Europe* in Danger, without any faithful Alliance but that of the *Dutch*. The Emperor had much offended him; because he had obstructed to the utmost of his Power, the Accommodation at *Ryswick*; and now in a Manner openly, laid Claim to the whole Monarchy of *Spain*, which he hoped to unite with his other Dominions. All our Troops in those very dark and dangerous Times, were reduced to 7000 Men: And many Members had declared in Parliament, that they thought even this too great a Number. Thus was the *French* King left in a Condition to execute almost any Thing: It was in his Power to take Possession of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, in the various Parts of the World, before any Prince but the Emperor, whom he had little Reason to fear, could oppose him. The Party of the late King, upon this Appearance of an approaching Rupture, conceived new Hopes. The States-General were averse to another War; yet apprehended it unavoidable, if the King of *Spain* should die without Children, unless it was timely prevented by a Treaty of Settlement. The House of *Bourbon* they knew, was an over-grown Power already, and they saw Danger in taking Part with the Emperor against it; because the Fund for carrying on a War, of which the Emperor was to have the Advantage, could be raised only in *England* and *Holland*. Besides, if the Emperor should succeed in his Aims, they might be even in greater Danger from him than from *France* itself, without a Barrier against him in the *Netherlands*. During this State of Confusion, in which

The HISTORY of

which all *Europe* seemed to be involved, King WILLIAM wrote the following Letter to the Lord Chancellor *Somers*, with his own Hand.

His Majesty's Letter to Lord SOMERS.

Lee, Aug. 15, 1668.

King William's Letter.

I Imparted to you before I left *England*, that in *F.* * there was exprest to my Lord *P.* † some Insinuation to come to an Agreement with us, concerning the Succession of the King of *Sp.* ‡ Since which *C. Tall.* § has mentioned it to me, and has made propositions, the Particulars of which my Lord *P.* will write to *Vernon*, to whom I have given Orders not to communicate them to any other besides yourself, and to leave to your Judgment to whom else you should think proper to impart them; to the End, that I might know your Opinion upon so important an Affair, and which requires the greatest Secrecy. If it be fit this Negotiation should be carried on, there is no Time to be lost; and you must send me the full Powers, under the Great Seal, with the Names in blank, to treat with *C. Tall.* I believe this may be done secretly, that none but you and *Vernon*, and those to whom you shall have communicated it, may have Knowledge of it: So that the Clerks who are to write the Warrant, and the Full Powers, may not know what it is. According to all Intelligence, the King of *Sp.* cannot out-live the Month of *October*, and the least Accident may carry him off every Day. I received your Letter of the 9th. Since my Lord *Wharton* cannot at this Time leave *England*, I must think of some other to send Ambassador into *Sp.* If you can think of any one proper, let

* *France.* † *Portland.* § *Spain.* || *Count Tallard.*

we know it, and be always assured of my Friendship.

W. R.

His Lordship's ANSWER.

Tunbridge-Wells, Aug. 28. 1698.

HAVING your Majesty's Permission to try if the Waters would contribute to the Re-establishment of my Health, I was just got to this Place when I had the Honour of your Commands. I thought the best Way of executing them would be to communicate to my Lord Orf. * Mr. Mont. † and the D. of Shrew. § (who before I left London had agreed upon a Meeting about that Time) the Subject of my Lord P's Letters; at the same Time letting them know how strictly your Majesty required, that it should remain an inviolable Secret.

Since then Mr. M. and Mr. Secretary are come down hither; and, upon their whole Discourse, three Things have principally occurred, and are humbly suggested to your Majesty.

1. That the entertaining a Proposal of this Nature, seems to be attended with very many ill Consequences, if the F. did not act a sincere Part. But we were soon at Ease as to any Apprehension of this Sort; being fully assured your Majesty would not act but with the utmost Nicety, in an Affair wherein the Glory, and the Safety of Europe were so highly concerned.

2. The second Thing considered was, the very ill Prospect of what was like to happen upon the Death of the King of Sp. in case nothing was done, previously, towards the providing against that Accident, which seemed probably to be very near; the King of F. having so great a Force, in such a Readiness, that he was in a Condition to take Possession of Sp. before any other Prince

* Orford.

† Montague.

§ Shrewsbury.

could be ready to make a Stand. Your Majesty is the best Judge, whether this be the Case, who are so perfectly informed of the Circumstances of Parts abroad. But so far as relates to *England*, it would be Want of Duty not to give Your Majesty this clear Account. That there is a Deadness and Want of Spirit in the Nation universally, so as not at all to be disposed to the Thought of entering into a new War, and that they seem to be tired out with Taxes, to a Degree beyond what was discerned, till it appeared upon the Occasion of the late Elections. This is the Truth of the Fact, upon which Your Majesty will determine what Resolutions are proper to be taken.

3. That which remained was, the Consideration what would be the Condition of *Europe*, if the Proposal took Place. Of this we thought ourselves little capable of judging: But it seemed, that if *Sicily* was in the Hands of the *F.* they would be entirely Masters of the *Levant* Trade; that if they were possessed of the *Final*, and those Ports on that Side, whereby *Milan* would be entirely shut out from Relief, or any other Commerce, that *Dutchy* would be of little Signification in the Hands of any Prince; and that if the King of *F.* was in Possession of any Part of *Guipuscoa*, which is mentioned in the Proposal, besides the Ports he would have in the Ocean, it does seem he would have as easy a Way of invading *Sp.* on that Side, as he now has on the Side of *Catalonia*. But it is not to be hoped, that *F.* will quit its Pretences to so great a Succession, without considerable Advantages; and we are all assured your Majesty will reduce the Terms as low as can be done, and make them, as far as is possible in the present Circumstances of Things, such as may be some Foundation of the future Quiet of the Kingdom; which all your Subjects cannot but be convinced is your true Aim.

If it could be brought to pass, that *England* might be some Way a Gainer by this Transaction, whether it was by the Elector of *Bavaria* (who is the Gainer by your Majesty's Interposition in this Treaty) his coming to an Agreement to let us have some Trade to the *Spanish* Plantations, or in any other Manner, it would wonderfully indear your Majesty to your *English* Subjects.

It does not appear, in case this Negotiation should proceed, what is to be done on your Part, in order to make it take Place; whether any more be required than that the *English* and *Dutch* fit still, and *F.* itself is to see it executed; and if that be so, what Security ought to be expected, that, if by our being neuter, the *French* be successful, they will confine themselves to the Terms of the Treaty, and not attempt to make farther Advantages of their Success.

I have put the Seal to the Commission, without expecting the Return of the Warrant. The Commission is written by Mr. Secretary, and no Creature has the least Knowledge of any Thing, besides the Persons already named. I pray God give your Majesty Honour and Success in all your Undertakings.

I am, with the utmost Duty and Respect,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most

Dutiful, and most

Obedient Subject and Servant;

S O M E R S.

It appears by his Majesty's Letter, that the first Propofal of this Treaty was made by the *French* King to the Earl of *Portland*, while that Nobleman was in *France*: And it was probably in order to make King *WILLIAM* come the more readily into it, without fufpecting any latent Subterfuge, that he endeavoured to dazzle his Majesty's Eyes by the extraordinary Reception he gave to his Ambaffador, and the Marks of his Esteem and Affection which he fhew'd him in feveral Letters. And now, that his Sincerity might be the more conspicuous, he orders his own Ambaffador, Count *Tallard*, to make the fame Propofitions to the King in Perfon, who readily receives them; though Lord *Somers*, and thofe whom he confulted in *England*, were not fo well fatisfied of the *French* King's Intentions; as appears by feveral Expreffions in his Lordship's Anfwer.

The Treaty
figned.

But, tho' his Majesty fent over for Advice, he did not ftay to receive it. Lord *Somers*'s Letter bears date *Auguft* the 28th, and on the 29th of *Auguft* N. S. feveral Days before his Majesty received it, a Treaty was concluded to the following Purport, and figned by the Earl of *Portland* and Sir *Joseph Williamson* on the Part of *England*, Count *Tallard* on the Part of *France*, and by eight Plenipotentiaries of the States-General.

Articles
of it.

" I. That the Peace of *Ryfwick* fhould be confirmed.

" II. That in Confideration of the ill State of the King of *Spain*'s Health, and for preferving the public Peace, in cafe the faid Prince fhould die without Ifue, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with the Places then depending upon the *Spanifh* Monarchy, fituated on the Coaft of *Tufcany*, or the adjacent Iflands of *St. Stephen*, *Porto-Hercole*, *Orbitello*, *Telamone*, *Porto-Longo*, *Piombino*, the Marquifate of *Final*, the Province of *Guipufcoa*, particularly the Towns of *Fontarabia*, and *St. Sebastian*, and

" more

“ more especially *Fort-Passage*, and likewise all
 “ Places on the *French Side* of the *Pyrenees*, or
 “ the other Mountains of *Navarre*, *Alava*, or
 “ *Biscay*, on the Side of the Province of *Guipus-*
 “ *coa*, with all the Ships and Gallies, and other
 “ Appurtenances belonging to the said Gallies
 “ should be given to the Dauphin, in Considerati-
 “ on of his Right.

“ III. That the Crown of *Spain*, and the o-
 “ ther Kingdoms and Places, both within and
 “ without *Europe*, should descend to the Electo-
 “ ral Prince of *Bavaria*, of whom his Father,
 “ the Elector, was to be Guardian and Admi-
 “ nistrator, till he came of Age.

“ IV. That the Dutchy of *Milan* should be
 “ allotted to the Archduke *Charles*, the Empe-
 “ ror's second Son.”

This Treaty was to be communicated to the
 Emperor, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, by the
 King of *Great Britain* and the States-General ;
 and if they did not agree to it, then the Portion
 of the Party not agreeing, should remain in Se-
 questration, till Things could be accommodated.
 And in case the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*
 should come to inherit his Share, and yet die be-
 fore his Father, without Issue, the Elector was
 to succeed him in those Dominions, and his
 Heir after him. Likewise the Dutchy of *Milan*,
 upon the Archduke's Refusal of it, was to be se-
 quester'd, and govern'd by the Prince of *Vaude-*
mont, and after him by his Son.

While the *French King* was thus decoying *French In-*
 King WILLIAM into the Treaty of Partition, *trigues at the*
 merely to amuse him for the Present, the Mar- *Court of*
 quis d' *Harcourt*, the *French Ambassador at Mad-* *Spain.*
rid, was labouring by all Manner of Means, to
 pave the Way to the *Spanish Throne* for a Prince
 of the House of *Bourbon*. But the Queen of
Spain, who was nearly related to the King of the
Romans, and entirely in the Interest of the House
 of

of *Austria*, by her Vigilance so circumvented his Intrigues, that all he could accomplish for some time, was to engage Cardinal *Portocarrero* in the Interest of *France*. However, in the mean time, the *French* strengthened themselves in the North, by a Treaty with the Crown of *Sweden*; and 60,000 of his most Christian Majesty's best Troops were marched to the Frontiers of *Catalonia* and *Navarre*. Ships of War, likewise, and Gallies, were sent into several Ports of *Spain*. A great Camp was formed at *Compeigne*, under the Presence of instructing the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Art of War; but design'd, in reality, to make a sudden Irruption, upon the first Occasion, into the *Spanish Netherlands*. From these Circumstances, and what, actually followed upon the King of *Spain's* Death, we may learn how just were the Precautions, and how salutary the Counsels, which the Lord *Somers* laid before his Majesty, tho' they came too late to take Effect. But the expected Revolution did not happen immediately; for the Recovery of the King of *Spain*, beyond all Appearance of Probability, dispelled the Fears of one Party for the present, and disappointed the Hopes of the other.

King *William* goes into *Germany*, and procures a peace in *Hungary*.

Is mortified at home.

King *WILLIAM*, at the latter End of the Summer, made a Visit to the Duke of *Zell*, and, at his Return to *Loo*, received one from the Duke of *Bavaria*, who came to pay his Acknowledgments for the Care taken of him in the Treaty of Partition. His Majesty likewise, to his immortal Honour, found Means to put an End to the *Hungarian War*, which had lasted fifteen Years, by setting on foot the Conferences at *Carlowitz*, which ended in several Treaties between the *Imperialists*, the *Russians*, the *Poles*, the *Turks*, and the *Venetians*. But arriving at *London* before *Christmas*, he opened a new Parliament, which gave him a great deal of Mortification. They obliged him to reduce his Army, both in *England* and *Ireland*, and to send home his *Dutch* Guards,

not-

notwithstanding the great Reluctance his Majesty expressed on this Occasion: And all this at a Time when, in his Opinion, * “ there was great “ Hazard in breaking such a Number of the “ Troops.”

It might well be supposed indeed, that neither the Parliament, nor the Privy-Council, saw so much of the present Danger as his Majesty; because, for Reasons then subsisting, he made the Partition Treaty a Secret to them both: Yet they could not but apprehend the Power of *France*, in case of the King of *Spain's* Demise, though they did not think proper to shew it any Regard.

The next Summer his Majesty, according to Custom, went to *Holland*, and resided there till near the Time of Parliament. Upon his Return

Farther perplexed by his Parliament.

he found this, as well as the preceding, a very troublesome Session. They resumed the Grants which his Majesty had made of the *Irish* forfeited Estates, and tack'd the Bill for this Resumption to that for the yearly Supply. They concerted an Address, praying, “ That *John Lord Somers*, “ Lord Chancellor of *England*, should be removed for-ever from his Majesty's Presence and “ Councils”; and though this passed in the Negative, on Account of Lord *Somers's* great Services and acknowledged Merit, yet they came to a Resolution, “ That an Address be made to “ his Majesty, that no Person who was not a “ Native of his Dominions, except his Royal “ Highness Prince *George of Denmark*, be admitted to his Majesty's Councils in *England* or “ *Ireland*.” This was levell'd chiefly at the two Favourites, the Earls of *Portland* and *Albemarle*, who had been successively thought too powerful in Council: And the King had no other Way to avoid its being presented, but by going suddenly to the House of Lords, passing the Bills that were ready, and putting an End to the Session.

* See his Speech at passing the Bill 1699.

The second
Treaty of
Partition.

1700.

The first Partition Treaty was not long in Force ; for the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, appointed Successor to the King of *Spain*, died during this Session of Parliament. Hereupon Lord *Portland*, soon after, began to treat about a new Partition, in Favour of the Archduke *Charles*. The Earl of *Jersey* was sent into *France* on this Occasion, and he and Lord *Portland* were joined in a Commission by his Majesty, as his Plenipotentiaries, for agitating and concluding a new Treaty. The Negotiations were over by the 15th of *March* (though the Prince died but on the 6th of *February*) and a Treaty was that Day signed between the *English* and *Dutch* on the one Part, and the *French* on the other. The Conditions of it were,

“ I. That *Spain*, *Flanders*, and the *West-Indies*, which by the former Treaty had been allotted to the Prince of *Bavaria*, should devolve to the Arch-duke *Charles*, the Emperor's Second Son.

“ II. That *Naples* and *Sicily*, with the rest of the *Spanish* Provinces on the Coast of *Italy*, as likewise the Province of *Guipuscoa*, should be assigned to the Dauphin.

“ III. That *Lorraine* should be annexed to *France*, the Dutchy of *Milan* be conferr'd on the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the County of *Bitsche* on the Prince of *Vaudemont*.”

The Plan of this new Treaty, in Case the former became insufficient, had been formed before the End of the preceding Year ; and the Court of *Madrid*, it appears, suspected somewhat of this Nature. His Catholick Majesty, so early as *August* 1699, did not fail to remonstrate against the Division of his Dominions in his Life-Time : And the following Paper, written in *Spanish*, was presented on this Occasion to Mr. *Stanhope*, the *English* Minister at the Court of *Spain*,

Spain, by Don Antonio de Ubilla, Secretary of the
Dispatcho Universal.

“ Don Antonio de Ubilla kisses the Hands of Memorial of
“ Don Alexander Stanhope, Envoy extraordinary the Spanish
“ of his Britannic Majesty, and lets him know, Secretary.
“ that the King his Master having been frequent-
“ ly informed by his Ministers in the North, of
“ the strong Informations, and even evident
“ Proofs, which they have by different Advices
“ and Accidents, that the *English, Hollanders,*
“ and *French*, in Consequence of what was last
“ Year concluded and stipulated at *Loo*, are now
“ again forming new Treaties for the Succession
“ to this Crown, and for the dividing of it ;
“ which Notices have been corroborated by other
“ Ways, so that they are public over all *Eu-*
“ *rope* ; it would be against his Dignity to dis-
“ semble, and take no Notice of them. The
“ King his Master thinks it inexcusable not to
“ oppose what might produce such irreparable
“ Inconveniences, if it came to be put in Exe-
“ cution ; and has ordered his Ministers in the
“ Courts of *France, England, and Holland*, to
“ make known to those Princes and Govern-
“ ments, the just Sentiments his Majesty has of
“ those Advices, never heard of before in the
“ Life of any King, and more improper in that
“ of his Majesty, which consisting at present (by
“ the divine Mercy, and for our Happiness) in
“ only thirty-eight Years of Age, we may na-
“ turally promise ourselves, and especially from
“ the most high Providence, that he may give
“ his Majesty the important Succession which we
“ hope for from him, by the affectionate Prayers
“ and Votes of his Vassals ; it causing a just
“ Wonder and Grief, that they doubt before-
“ hand of so great a Possibility, by Reason of
“ any Opinions taken up from the slight Com-
“ plaints, and the Affliction of his Kingdoms and
“ Subjects, and the Impressions that seem to di-
“ sturb the great Tranquillity which we now en-
“ joy :

The HISTORY of

“ joy: When, on the other hand, it is not to be
 “ believed from the righteous and pious Mind of
 “ his Majesty, that he lives so unmindful of his
 “ Obligation, and values so little the Love and
 “ Security of his Vassals, that if God (by his
 “ occult and sovereign Judgments) would cha-
 “ stise us, by taking away his Life (which we
 “ hope he will not suffer) without granting him
 “ the Benefit of a Succession, his Affairs will be
 “ left without a due Reflection on what is most
 “ just, and most important for the public Tran-
 “ quillity, and so that no Body shall be able to find
 “ fault with his Justice nor his Foresight. For
 “ which Reasons, his Majesty has ordered his
 “ aforesaid Ministers to make Instances, and use
 “ their Diligence to cut off these Negotiations;
 “ weighing the ill Effects which they now pro-
 “ duce, and what their Continuance may pro-
 “ duce. And that the Complaint of his Majesty,
 “ and the Orders he gives to his Ministers abroad,
 “ to notify to the Princes at whose Courts they
 “ reside, may be at the same Time made pub-
 “ lic; he has lately ordered, that it be made
 “ known to the Ministers here: For this Reason
 “ does Don *Antonio de Ubilla* communicate it to
 “ Don *Alexander Stanhope*, by order of his Ma-
 “ ster, that he may also give Notice to his *Brit-
 “ tannic* Majesty, assisting with his prudent Re-
 “ presentations this just and honest Purpose;
 “ that so the universal Quiet may be maintain’d,
 “ and that he may quit the Scandal of this Nego-
 “ tiation, which it is feared will be an unhappy
 “ Motive of kindling the voracious Flame of a
 “ new War; which being once lighted, will be
 “ difficult to be extinguished, either by the great-
 “ est Force, or the most dextrous and powerful
 “ Mediation: And he remains obedient to Don
 “ *Alexander Stanhope* with all Affection.”

Agreeably to what is mentioned in this Paper,
 a Remonstrance in *French* was presented to the
 Lords Justices in *England* on the same Head, by
 the

the Marquis *de Canales*, Ambassador from the King of *Spain*. The Translation of it has been thus printed :

“ That his Catholick Majesty having been informed by evident Proofs, that his Majesty King WILLIAM, the *Hollanders*, and other Powers (in consequence of what they have treated and stipulated last Year at *Lee*) are now at this Time actually hatching new Treaties for the Succession to the Crown of *Spain*, and (what is most detestable) contriving its Division and Repartition ; His Majesty orders his Extraordinary Ambassador residing in this Kingdom to make known to the first Lords and Ministers of *England*, the just Resentment which his Majesty has against these Proceedings and Operations, never before seen, nor ever attempted to be treated of by any Nation in Regard to the Interest of another ; and still less, during the Life of a Monarch, who is of so fit an Age to have reason to hope (for many Years) a Succession so much wished for by all Nations ; who, without a detestable Avarice, could not be provok'd to usurp and overturn another Prince's Country.

“ That if this was permitted, and was not contrary to the Law of Nature, no Nation nor Dominion could be safe against the Machinations and Deceits of the Strongest and most Malicious ; whereas Reason, and not Force, confines Nations.

“ That if it was permitted to Strangers to take Notice, and to put their Hands into the Lines of Succession of Kings and Sovereigns, there would be no Statutes nor municipal Laws to be observed in the one, nor in the other ; nor could any be free from the Attempts of others, and the Crown of *England* less than any.

“ That if we lie watching the Indispositions of Sovereigns, no Health would be constant, no Life safe, while the one and the other de-

pend

The Spanish
Ambassa-
dor's Re-
monstrance.

“ pend on the Hand of the Almighty, who regulates Life, Death and Empires.

“ That the Impressions which one Kingdom makes upon the other, to tempt the Faith of the Subjects, and to excite their Minds to a Rising, are an Offence, and but a Degree less than the betraying the good Faith which ought to be observed among Christians, and more particularly among Allies and Friends.

“ That we ought not to presume that any Prince, or Nation, and still less the King of the *Spanish* Nation, is so negligent, as not to take just Measures against Accidents that may happen when least thought of, to secure the public Peace, and the Repose of *Europe*, which has been the Aim of the Kingdom and the Nation for so many Ages, as it is now and will always be.

“ That if these Proceedings, these Machinations and Projects are not quickly put a Stop to, we shall, without doubt, see a dire and universal War over all *Europe*, difficult to stop even when we are willing, and most sensible and prejudicial to the *English* Nation, which has newly tried and felt what Novelties, and the last War have cost them. This Matter is so worthy of Reflection and Consideration, that it is not doubted but it will be own'd as such by the Parliament, the Nobility, and all the *English* Nation, which has always been so full of Foreign fight into the present and future Times.

“ The same Nation must consider its particular Interests, the Trade and the Treaties, which she principally has with the King and the *Spanish* Nation; the Alteration, the Division, and Separation of which, would of Necessity draw after it considerable Prejudices and Damages; and all this is prevented by cutting short the Project that is begun, and not to help on Novelties, that have from all Times been hurtful to Empires and Sovereignties.

“ That

“ That the Extraordinary Ambassador of *Spain* will manifest to the Parliament, when it shall be assembled, the just Resentment which he now expresses, as his Master has caused it to be notified to all the public Ministers of the Kings, Princes, and Republics, that reside at the Court of *Madrid*.”

In answer to this Memorial, Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, by his Majesty's Order, wrote a Paper in *French* to the *Spanish* Ambassador, which was dated the 30th of *September* 1699, and is thus translated.

‘ His Majesty having seen the Paper which the Secretary of the Embassy of *Spain* has lately delivered, by order of your Excellency, to several of the Lords Justices of the Kingdom; His Majesty has found the Contents so insolent and seditious, that in Resentment of so extraordinary a Proceeding, and which can by no Means be justified by the Law of Nations, He orders that you go out of his Dominions precisely in eighteen Days, to be counted from this Notification, and that you keep in your House, without going out of the Limits of it, till your Departure. I am also commanded to let you know, that these are the Orders of His Majesty, that no Writing be any more received from you, nor any of your Domesticks.’

His Excellency Mr. *Stanhope* also presented a Memorial to *Don Antonio de Ubilla*, containing a Complaint of the Marquis de *Canales*'s Proceedings. It was delivered at the *Escorial* Nov. 3. N. S. 1699. and is thus rendered into *English*.

‘ Don *Alexander Stanhope*, Envoy Extraordinary of the King of *Great Britain*, kisses the Hands of *Don Antonio de Ubilla*, and says that he has Orders from the King his Master, immediately to convey to the Royal Knowledge of his Catholick Majesty, the just Motive of Complaint given him by a Paper, which the Secretary of the Marquis de *Canales*, by Order

Secretary
Vernon's
Paper.

Mr. *Stan-*
hope's Me-
morial.

‘ of

“ That

of his Master, delivered to the Lords Justices
 of *England* in *London*, of which the adjoined is
 a true Copy, and from whose Contents, besides
 the rude and provoking Language, it is mani-
 fest the Design of it was to stir up Sedition in
 his Kingdoms, by appealing to the Parliament
 and People of *England* against His Majesty;
 which is to own them Superiors to the Royal
 Person, than which nothing can be more ab-
 surd, and contrary to the Constitution of the
 Government of *England*; and is what the said
 Marquis *de Canales*, Ambassador from his Ca-
 tholic Majesty, neither ought, nor could be ig-
 norant of, after so many Years Residence in it.
 Notwithstanding which, the Paper is full of
 contumelious Language to His Majesty's Per-
 son, making Use of several Artifices, of Insinu-
 ations and Threats, purposely to breed a Mis-
 understanding and Dissention between His Ma-
 jesty and His Subjects; an Attempt, which no
 sovereign Prince can tolerate in His Dominions:
 And therefore the King of *Great Britain*, his
 Master, found himself necessitated to cut off
 short, as soon as possible, a Mischief, which by
 the Industry of the Marquis, went on spreading
 itself daily, by ordering he should be required
 to go out of his Kingdoms: And, finally, the
 said Paper being, both in its Expressions and
 Substance, by its Example, affrontive to the
 Majesty and Sacredness of all Kings, the King
 of *Great Britain*, his Master, does not believe
 it possible that the Marquis writ or published it
 by Order of his Catholic Majesty; but on the
 contrary, persuades himself, that this his Re-
 sentment will be much to his Royal Satisfac-
 tion, as made for the common Cause of all Kings:
 And Don *Alexander Stanhope* hopes that Don
Antonio Ubilla will pass all this to the Royal
 Knowledge of his Catholic Majesty; remaining
 Don *Antonio's* most humble and affectionate
 Servant'. —————

Such

Such an Indignity offered by a Foreign Ambassador, to the Court at which he resided, would no doubt have met with a like Return from any Sovereign in *Europe*, how well-founded soever the Allegations it was built on might really be. There is no Room however to question, but many Persons about His Majesty, especially those who afterwards joined in prosecuting the Advisers of this arbitrary Agreement, were satisfied in their Minds, that the *Spanish* Complaints, tho' a little too roughly delivered, were not without Reason. I mention this to justify the inserting them here, and to shew how far they may serve for a Vindication of Mr. PRIOR, and the other Patriots who carried on that Prosecution, and who perhaps, by many, may be thought to have acted a little inconsistently in that Affair.

But the Partition is no where painted in such lively Colours, nor the Artifices of the *French* Court, in all her Negotiations about this Time, more fully detected and exposed, than in a Pamphlet that was published in the same Year at *Vienna*, and immediately after translated into *English*, under the Title of *The Fable of the Lion's Share verified, in the pretended Partition of the Spanish Monarchy*. Whoever was the Author of it, there is no doubt but the Sense of the Imperial Court, as well as of many neutral Powers, is given therein. I shall therefore make from it a very considerable Extract, that the Reader may know what those Arguments were, which induced not only most of the Courts in *Europe*, but many Subjects of *Great Britain*, otherwise well-affected, to disapprove the Conduct of His *Britannic* Majesty.

When the *French* Court express'd so much Zeal for the Peace of *Ryswick*, during the highest Prosperity of their Arms, 'twas easy to foresee that they were meditating other Conquests under the Favour of that Peace, which

Remarks on
these Papers.

Design of
France in
making the
Peace of
Ryswick.

' which should be less expensive, and of more
 ' Importance than any they could promise to
 ' themselves by continuing the War : For to pre-
 ' sume they acted by a Motive of Charity, to
 ' give Peace to *Christendom*, as they would have
 ' us believe, is altogether inconsistent with their
 ' preceding Conduct.---They were well inform-
 ' ed, that *England* and the United Provinces were
 ' much exhausted ; and that the Emperor, hav-
 ' ing borne the Weight of the *Turkish* War for
 ' fourteen Years, was no longer able to maintain
 ' his Troops upon the *Rhine*. They had put an
 ' End to the most troublesome and expensive Part
 ' of the War, by an Agreement with *Savoy* :
 ' Yet they were resolved to have a Peace ; they
 ' press'd it vehemently, and concluded one with
 ' Disadvantage. They had already bought a
 ' Peace from the Duke of *Savoy* by restoring
 ' *Pignerol*, in hopes that his Separation from the
 ' Confederates, would facilitate the general one ;
 ' and in this they sacrificed their Ally King JAMES,
 ' who had put himself under their Protection,
 ' to their common Enemy King WILLIAM, with
 ' whom they enter'd into private Measures for
 ' a stricter Alliance ; by vertue of which, the un-
 ' doubted Right of the Emperor and his Male
 ' Line, to the Succession of *Spain*, was to be
 ' sacrificed in Requital, as appear'd soon af-
 ' ter.

' That the Peace was disadvantageous to the
 ' *French*, is evident by the Obligation they were
 ' under to restore so many Places of Importance,
 ' which had cost vast Sums of Money to take and
 ' fortify ; besides others that were to be demolish-
 ' ed, to the great Weakening of their Frontiers.
 ' But the vast Designs they had formed, deserved
 ' all these Sacrifices. The Catholic King was in
 ' such a languishing Condition, as might carry
 ' him every Hour to the Grave ; and they had
 ' his Succession in View. The Continuation of

the

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the War would have kept the two great * Ma-^{* England} and ^{and Holland.} ritime Powers united to the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, by virtue of their Alliance; which was so prejudicial to *France*, and yet no Way to be dissolved but by a Peace, so that it became absolutely necessary to make one. The Conferences of the Mareſchal *de Boufflers* with the Earl of *Portland*, the Embaſſy of the Earl to *France*, and the extraordinary Honours done him there, were the Fore-runners of the Diſſolution of the Confederacy, and of the Measures taken between the *French* Court and thoſe Powers, to ſecure the Succeſſion of *Spain* to the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*.

This Expedient, however unjuſt, ſeemed to Deſign of the two confederated Nations, the moſt proper ^{France in} Means to bring them out of an expensive War ^{declaring for} with Honour, and at the ſame time to prevent ^{the Electoral} the *French* from ſeizing the Succeſſion of *Spain*. ^{Prince of} *Bavaria*. But on the other Side, it was favourable to *France*, by depriving the Emperor of his Right, and putting the *French* King into a Condition to appropriate to himſelf, under the Name of the Electoral Prince, whatever he ſhould think convenient. Suitable to this View, it could not but be advantageous to *France* to diſarm her Enemies, which was to be the firſt Fruits of the Peace. For they were ſure the *Engliſh* Nation would never ſuffer their King to keep up an Army without Neceſſity; and that the United Provinces would, upon the Conclusion of the Treaty, reduce their Troops, and apply themſelves to the Re-eſta bliſhment of their Trade. And as to the *German* Princes, they preſum'd, that when they ſhould find themſelves depriv'd of the Supplies they uſed to receive from thoſe Nations, and of the Winter-quarters which were aſſigned them by the Emperor, they would diſarm alſo. Thus the *French* alone remaining in Arms, and, by Means of the

The HISTORY of

Peace, being furnished with sufficient Opportunities of embroiling Affairs in *Spain*, *Germany*, *England*, and the *North*, would find no Difficulty in Execution of their great Designs, upon the Death of the King of *Spain*, which they thought near at Hand. The Disarming succeeded to their Expectation; and in less than six Months they saw their Enemies out of a Condition to hurt them; which made them raise their Thoughts to higher Things than they had before projected. To make the best Use therefore of this favourable Conjunction, after they had broken a few useless Troops, and sent home the Militia, which they could raise again at Pleasure, they marched the best of their Troops towards the *Pyrenees*, fitted out Fleets of Ships and Gallies to cruize upon the Coasts of *Spain* and *Italy*, and convey'd Men, disguis'd like *Spaniards*, into the City of *Madrid*, to assist their Ambassador, who by his Intrigues had already put that Court into the utmost Confusion.

In this Posture of Affairs the Catholick King recovers, almost miraculously; which, with the Disposition that appear'd towards the speedy Conclusion of a Truce between the Emperor and the *Turks*, made the Court of *France* slacken its Pace, lest his Catholick Majesty (who had constantly refused to declare himself in Favour of the Electoral Prince) should enter into Measures with the Emperor, armed and victorious, to bring the Archduke *Charles* into *Spain*: Therefore, since they could not flatter themselves any longer with the Hopes of obtaining their Ends without the Assistance of *England* and *Holland* (who had engaged no farther than for the Electoral Prince) they entered into a Negotiation with them upon that Project; and covering their Ambition under the specious Pretence of the publick Good, and Preservation of Peace, were compassing

compassing their main Design by oblique and indirect Ways and Methods.

'Tis evident, that by engaging the two Maritime Powers, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, to secure the Succession of *Spain* to the Electoral Prince, they should actually embroil them with the Emperor, whose Power by that Means would be so diminished, that either he would be obliged to treat privately with *France* upon such Terms as he could get; or else, under Pretence of putting the Electoral Prince into Possession, they themselves would seize into their Hands all the best Places, in order to leave him only what they pleased.

The Council of *Spain*, seeing the Emperor disabled by this League from maintaining his Right by Arms, and justly fearing their Monarchy would be dismember'd, could no Way avoid to admit the Electoral Prince, and so fall into the Snare laid for them.

Most of the States of *Europe*, interesting themselves no farther than to prevent the Union of the *Spanish* Monarchy to that of *France*, would entertain less Jealousy of the Possession they should take in the Name of the Electoral Prince. And thus, when they had posted themselves in *Spain* and *Italy*, either a new War must be made to drive them out again, or they must have had, by an Agreement prejudicial to all *Europe*, whatever they should think convenient for themselves, in order to save the Rest for that Prince: And for this they had made early Provision; for we now certainly know that they had already stipulated with the Elector of *Bavaria*, that the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which they have so long coveted, should be yielded to them.

If the *Spaniards* and Maritime Powers should acknowledge the Prince Electoral's Right to the Crown of *Spain*, notwithstanding the Archduchess's his Mother's Renunciation of all her

‘ Rights to the *Spanish* Monarchy, which was
 ‘ made after the most solemn Manner, in Fa-
 ‘ vour of the Emperor and his Descendants of
 ‘ the Male Line; this would be to create a Ti-
 ‘ tle in the *French*, to be disputed hereafter with
 ‘ that Prince, under the Name of the Dauphin,
 ‘ representing the eldest Daughter of *Philip*
 ‘ IV; whereas the Electoral Prince represented
 ‘ only the Younger: The Renunciation of the
 ‘ Queen, Mother of the Dauphin, as the *French*
 ‘ would have given out, being of no more force
 ‘ against him, than that of the Archdutchess a-
 ‘ gainst her Son.—

‘ The Death of the Electoral Prince, which
 ‘ happened in the midst of these noble Projects
 ‘ cast the *French* and their Allies into new Per-
 ‘ plexities. The most Christian King was fully
 ‘ convinced, that if he pretended to the whole
 ‘ Succession of *Spain*, in order to incorporate
 ‘ those Dominions with his own Crown, he
 ‘ should arm all *Europe* against himself. And
 ‘ if he pretended to obtain it separate and inde-
 ‘ pendent for one of his Grandsons, his Allies
 ‘ would not fail to oppose him privately; and
 ‘ by corresponding secretly with the Emperor
 ‘ and Catholick King, be enabled to destroy the
 ‘ Foundation of his Hopes. These Considera-
 ‘ tions moved him to propose several Expedients,
 ‘ to dissipate their Suspicions; whilst his Amba-
 ‘ sador at *Madrid* endeavoured to persuade the
 ‘ *Spaniards*, by all the Strength of Promises,
 ‘ Intrigues, and Bribes, to admit one of his
 ‘ Grandsons. But the Catholic King and the
 ‘ Allies of *France* expressing their Aversion to
 ‘ this Project, he at last agreed with King WIL-
 ‘ LIAM in another Expedient to determine this
 ‘ great Affair; which was, by Way of Provision,
 ‘ to divide the Succession of *Spain* between the
 ‘ Dauphin and the Archduke *Charles*.

Design of
France in the
 Treaty of
 Partition.

‘ This Treaty, tho’ mysteriously concealed,
 took Wind, and awaken’d the Suspicions of

' the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*. Yet there
 ' was some Reason to doubt; first, because King
 ' WILLIAM, and two or three Persons alone of
 ' the greatest Figure in *Holland*, were said to be
 ' concerned, and then, a Fact of such Enormity
 ' and Injustice wanted all Appearance of Proba-
 ' bility. But the most Christian King, finding
 ' himself oblig'd to maintain great Forces, that
 ' exhausted his Treasures, in Expectation of a
 ' Succession which the Recovery of the Catho-
 ' lic King render'd every Day more uncertain
 ' and remote; and apprehending on the other
 ' Hand, by Reason of his great Age, that if
 ' he should come to die without finishing this
 ' important Enterprize, the Dauphin might find
 ' himself too weak, or of too little Credit to
 ' sustain it with Success, he thought himself ne-
 ' cessitated to put all to Hazard, by making the
 ' Treaty public, with the Circumstances which
 ' every Man knows.

' How rash soever the publishing of this Reasons of
 ' Treaty may seem, it cannot be said to have France for
 ' been resolv'd without mature Deliberation. publishing
 ' The State of Affairs in *Europe* was inviting. the Treaty
 ' *Spain*, in the utmost Perplexity and Confusion, of Partition.
 ' lay under the Terror of his Arms, which
 ' threatned them by Sea and Land: All their
 ' Places unprovided, and their Frontiers open on
 ' all Sides: The great Maritime Powers, from
 ' whom they ought to expect most, disarmed, and
 ' in all Appearance brought over to support the
 ' Treaty. These were such Considerations, as
 ' might well oblige the *Spaniards* to think the
 ' Admission of a Son of *France* to the Crown of
 ' *Spain*, would be a tolerable Thing in the Dan-
 ' ger they were in of being torn in Pieces. And
 ' this was presently perceived by the *French* to
 ' be the worst that could happen. There was a
 ' Party formed in *Spain*, to promote this Admis-
 ' sion: For many principal Persons among the
 ' Clergy had already swallowed the Bait, through

a vain Desire of Ease and Quiet, which they
 covered with the specious Pretext of Religion.
 Possibly, there was yet a greater Party among
 the Grandees, of whom one Part trembled at
 the Danger of losing all by Resistance, and
 the other was seduced by Hopes of reaping
 Advantages from the Change. As to the Em-
 peror, they saw him sufficiently employ'd, in
 regulating his Frontiers with the *Turk*, and
 disbanding Part of his Forces, in order to re-
 cruit his Treasures. So that they thought
 themselves secure from him; especially con-
 sidering, that the Divisions which had been
 formed in the Empire about * the Ninth Elec-
 torate, together with the Northern War, in
 which they doubted not to engage him, would
 in all Appearance put him out of a Condi-
 tion to think of Things abroad. Besides all
 these favourable Dispositions, they counted up-
 on the good Fortune of their Monarch, so of-
 ten experienced in the rashest Attempts, and
 the Talent of the Nation for Negotiations and
 Intrigues.—

According to these promising Ideas, the
French Court persuaded themselves, that the
 Publication of the Treaty could not but turn
 to their Advantage. For the Emperor, find-
 ing himself abandon'd by his antient Allies,
 and not daring to rely upon *Spain* in such ex-
 treme Confusion, would either be forced to
 accept his Lot, rather than lose all; and then
 they knew they should be Masters of every
 Thing in the *Spanish* Monarchy that was con-
 venient for them at present, with certain
 Hopes of the rest afterwards:—Or, on the
 contrary, if the Emperor should refuse to ac-
 cept the Treaty, which they thought impro-

* That of *Hanover*, erected in 1692, in Favour of his
 late Majesty's Father.

able, then they trusted to King WILLIAM and the Maritime Powers, who had engaged to see the Conditions performed, and doubted not to bring in divers other Princes and States of Europe.—

Under these auspicious Influences, we saw that Treaty published, which is now become the Scandal of all Europe. A Treaty which may be justly called, not only a Conspiracy against the Austrian Family, but against the Liberties of Christendom; directly tending to enslave Mankind to the House of France. This is the Design of that Treaty; irregular in every Part, unjust in Substance, and of the most dangerous Consequences to all Sovereigns, who may with Reason dread the Force of this Example. Henceforward, if nothing more be necessary to regulate Successions than a superior Force, and a Combination of three or more powerful Princes; What Methods of Caution can they possibly take, to secure their Dominions to their Children or Families? The King of Spain is not yet in his fortieth Year; he is within the Age of having Children, and his Health may be restored by that Grace of God, which has been so visible in his Preservation. But he lives too long, in the Opinion of the French, who have waited for his Death ever since he was born: And not daring to pretend to the whole Succession, lest all Europe should take the Alarm, they engage King WILLIAM, and two or three leading Men in the United Provinces, whom they had gain'd, to consent, that they should take either by Force or Treaty what they judg'd most convenient for them, leaving only for Form Sake such a Share to the Emperor's second Son, as they were sure to tear from him soon after.

But this is not all. They carry the Attempt yet farther; and no way trouble themselves about the Consent or Refusal of the actual Possessor.

' fessor of so many Kingdoms and States; as if
 ' he was already struck out of the Book of the
 ' Living; or as if, by being childless, he had
 ' forfeited all Right of inquiring who ought to
 ' succeed him. Then, as to his Kingdoms and
 ' Dominions, though the disposing of them is
 ' a Thing that determines their Happiness or
 ' Misery; they are no more regarded in the
 ' Treaty, than if they were so many Kingdoms
 ' in *Yvetot*, or Republicks of *San Marino*. The
 ' Treaty was proposed to the Emperor and King
 ' of *Spain*, not as a Project upon which they had
 ' Liberty to deliberate; but as a fix'd Decree,
 ' and irrevocable Sentence, to which they must
 ' submit blindly and without Reply. There is
 ' not the least Mention made, that the King-
 ' doms and States to be divided shall be preserv-
 ' ed in the Enjoyment of their Laws, Customs,
 ' Immunities, and Privileges; a Favour that
 ' might have been stipulated for them, tho' it
 ' had been done only for Form Sake; for we
 ' know well enough that no such Thing is to be
 ' expected from *France*.

' The haughty and despotical Manner of the
 ' *French*, in giving the two Monarchs notice of
 ' the Treaty, is yet more extraordinary. The
 ' Marquis *de Villars* presents it to the Emperor,
 ' and prescribes the Term of three Months, to
 ' consider whether he will accept or refuse the
 ' Lot which was assign'd therein to the Arch-
 ' duke *Charles*, his second Son; declaring at
 ' the same Time, that unless he accept within
 ' the Term limited, they will give it to another.
 ' And for the Catholic King, the Marquis
 ' *de Torcy*, upon the Delivery of the Treaty to
 ' his Ambassador at *Paris*, declares daily, and
 ' without farther Compliment, That this Office
 ' was performed, in order to know whether his
 ' Majesty would consent to the Partition, or
 ' not: That, in the first Case, they would be

content;

content; if otherwise, such Measures would be taken as should be thought most convenient.——

But the *French* got yet farther; for they will not be contented to dispose of the King of *Spain's* Dominions as they please, and to pronounce Sentence against him with the highest Indignity: They affirm in the Treaty, that the Right of Succession belongs to the Sons of the Emperor, and the Dauphin of *France*; yet, notwithstanding this Acknowledgment, it is stipulated at the End of the seventh Article, that if the Emperor, and the two Princes his Sons, shall refuse to admit the prescrib'd Partition, the two Kings, and the States-General will nominate another Prince, to whom the Share designed for the Archduke shall be given. Can any Thing be more unjust and outrageous? They first deprive the Emperor of his Right to the Whole; then they divide the Whole between his second Son the Archduke and the Dauphin of *France*, giving all the Advantage to the last; and lastly, they threaten his Imperial Majesty, that unless he comply, they will give his Son's Part to a third Person in Punishment of his Offence.

Let Men turn this Proceeding which Way they please, they will not find such an Example of Injustice and Arrogance, in either Christian or Profane History. Surprisals, Breach of Treaties, Invasions and Desolation of Countries are Attempts that cry aloud for Vengeance; and *France* has known how to make use of them with Success, throughout the whole Course of the present Reign: But that kind of hostile Actions is usually followed by others of like Nature; Men oppose Force to Force, and when a War is begun, each Party endeavours to take all Advantages against their Enemies. Here the Case is different. Injustice and Surprisal are disguised under the Name of

Peace; Way-laying another Prince is said to be convenient for *Europe*, and Usurpation is covered with the deceitful Mask of an amicable Agreement. But what Law, or what Right, had the three contracting Powers, to assume this Authority, and to constitute themselves Sovereign Judges of so vast an Inheritance; to over-throw the Order of Succession that had been so firmly established, and to adjudge the best Part to *France*, that had renounced all by a solemn Treaty? Strange Tribunal! where a Party is principal Judge, and where the two others, seduced by mistaken Interests, blindly subscribe his unjust Decisions. And indeed, who could ever have thought that King WILLIAM should have engaged with his most dangerous and implacable Enemy, to authorize such an enormous Attempt, so prejudicial to all *Europe*, and to his own People in particular? It is upon this Prince, and his Creatures in *Holland*, that the Blame must fall: For, as to the *French*, they have been so long in the Possession of attempting any thing to compass their Ends, that nothing now can be surprizing which comes from them. But for King WILLIAM and the States-General, who can see them at the Head of this Treaty without Emotion? —

Absurdities
of the Motives to this
Treaty.

If one should ask these three Powers what was the Object of their Union, they answer in the second Article, *To maintain the general Tranquillity of Europe*: And if we would know what was the Cause of their Apprehensions, they will presently reply, *They could not see without Grief, that the State of the King of Spain's Health had for some Time been so languishing, that the Life of that Prince is in great Danger; tho' they cannot think upon this Event without Affliction, by Reason of the sincere and unfeigned Friendship they have for him.* Hitherto all goes wonderfully well; nothing but Christian

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“ Christian Charity, the Desire of Peace, and dismal Apprehensions of the Death of the Catholic King. Nay in Confirmation of the third Head, we may say, that his most Christian Majesty's Uneasiness about the Health of this good King was carried to some Excess: For his Design to send an Ambassador to *Madrid*, in order to be careful and vigilant about him, was the principal Reason that mov'd him to press and conclude the Peace with Disadvantage. This Peace was hardly ratified when his Ambassador appear'd at *Madrid*, to the Astonishment of the whole Court: and to satisfy his Master's Impatience more punctually, laid the Post-road with his own Horses, causing his own Servants to ride as Post-boys between *Madrid* and the Frontier, to the End he might be every Hour informed, without trusting to the *Spaniards*, about that Health which concern'd him so much. A little Head-ach, or a restless Night, was become the Subject of an Express. In a Word, this officious Minister, seeing the *Spaniards* alarm'd about the Succession, omitted nothing that might put them out of Doubt; letting them see at a Distance great Armies upon their Frontiers, and Squadrons of Ships and Gallies cruising upon the Coasts of *Spain* and *Italy*, all ready to decide that Question.”—

The Author then sets forth the Treachery of the *French* towards the *Spaniards*, during the Minority, and through the whole Reign of the present King; the Instances of which he ironically calls, so many Proofs of their *sincere and unfeigned Friendship*. After which he proceeds thus:

“ The most Christian King has renounced the whole Monarchy of *Spain*, as well for himself as his Descendants, by stipulating and accepting the Renunciation of the Infanta *Maria Teresa*, made before she was his Wife; and thus violates this Contract, which was one of

The Pretensions of France to the Monarchy of *Spain*.
groundless.

the

' the most solemn and authentic that ever was
 ' made between Sovereigns: And all this found-
 ' ed upon the vaineſt Sophiſms of the Bar, which
 ' are of no Force againſt public Treaties; be-
 ' cauſe theſe are Contracts made *bona fide*, au-
 ' thorized by the Law of Nations among all
 ' People for the common Benefit of Mankind.
 ' This is the ſandy Foundation of his pretended
 ' Rights: He produced them in his Maniſeſto,
 ' and contenting himſelf with the Formality, re-
 ' ferred their Verification to the Force of his
 ' Arms; which is a new Method of Law, that
 ' has ſince been of admirable Service to him in
 ' all his Deſigns. But what was there in that
 ' Maniſeſto, but a continued Thread of captious
 ' Reasonings, which however ſupported by the
 ' moſt crafty diſguiſes, were only capable of im-
 ' poſing upon the Simple and Ignorant? The
 ' Author's Sentences are ambiguous; his Autho-
 ' rities remote from the Subject; and where he
 ' cites the Laws and their Interpreters, he omits
 ' the moſt important Paſſages, perverts the true
 ' Senſe of the Words, and confounds the Sove-
 ' reign with the Commoner. What ſhall I ſay
 ' more? He falſifies known Hiſtory, affirms
 ' moſt apparent Falſhoods, and denies the moſt
 ' evident Truths. Thus trampling under Foot
 ' that Juſtice by which he ſtands condemn'd,
 ' proving nothing, and enlarging in falſe Deduc-
 ' tions, he ſheds the Poiſon of his Malignity up-
 ' on whatever has been moſt ſolemnly eſtabliſh-
 ' ed by the Law of Nations, for the common
 ' Good both of Sovereigns and People; as has
 ' been fully proved in the Answers to that Libel,
 ' to which the *French* have never dared to re-
 ' ply."——

We have next a particular Diſcuſſion of the
French King's pretended Right, and ſeveral In-
 ſtances of thoſe Perverſions and Falſifications,
 which the Author mentions. After inſiſting on
 the Moderation of *Philip II*, King of *Spain*,
 whole

whose Daughter *Isabella*, by *Elizabeth* of *France* his third Wife, was considered as Heirefs to the Crown of *France* upon the Death of *Henry III.* he goes on in the following Manner :

‘ This Example of *Philip*, which the *French* cannot deny, clearly demonstrates, that the House of *Austria*, at the utmost Height of her Power, was always averse from the Use of these pernicious Maxims to satisfy that Ambition, of which she has been so injuriously accused ; and by a just Comparison, how dangerous that of *France* is to all *Europe*, since she makes no Difficulty to prostitute whatever is esteemed most sacred in human Society. By the same Comparison we may judge where to place that *Umbrage of too many Dominions united under one Prince*, which is produced in the Treaty for a second Reason of avoiding a War. We may add also, that if *France* was able to maintain her Power and Advantages with so much Success in the last War, not only against the Forces of the House of *Austria*, but against those of the Empire, *England*, and *Holland*, either of which alone would have been formidable to them fifty Years ago, no Colour of Doubt can possibly remain,

‘ If the Crown of *Spain* passes from the Catholic King to the Archduke *Charles*, the House of *Austria* increases not in Power, the State of *Europe* remains the same, and I am persuaded, that all those Nations which the *French* endeavour to fill with Suspicions, will like it so well, that none of them would oppose such a Disposition, if the *French* should lay aside their turbulent Practices.

‘ These Umbrages might have been reasonable under the Emperor *CHARLES V.* who possess'd the Hereditary Dominions of his Family with those of the Crown of *Spain*, especially at a Time when *France* was not near so powerful as at this Day. But the Face of Affairs

'airs is so much altered since the Division of
 'that August Family into two Branches, that
 'even from the Time of *Philip* the Second,
 'Son to that great Emperor, and his Successor
 'in the Dominions of *Spain*, her Power began
 'to decline, and consequently that of *France* to
 'rise; which made so great a Progress in a
 'short Time, that the most irreconcilable Ene-
 'mies of the *Austrian* Family, changed the
 'Object of their Fears, made haste to her De-
 'fence, astonished at the unexpected Change,
 'which convinced them, in Despite of the Il-
 'lusions of *France*, join'd to all the Force of
 'Prepossession, that her Power was far from
 'being established upon so solid a Foundation as
 'that of her Rival.—

No Security
 in any Trea-
 ty to be
 made with
France,

'It would be superfluous to insert the Articles,
 'which tend to make sure of the Maritime
 'Powers to warrant the Treaty, and to persuade
 'them of the Sincerity of *France* in the Exe-
 'cution, as well as to break all the Measures
 'that might be taken by the House of *Austria*
 'to defeat the Design. It is sufficient to exa-
 'mine the Substance by the Great, to demon-
 'strate that the Promises of the *French* are
 'mere illusions, made only to attain their Ends,
 'which when they have compass'd, they cer-
 'tainly know that no Guarantees shall be able to
 'stop their Career. So that the Matter in Dis-
 'pute is not, whether they will execute the
 'Treaty, or not; for, being wholly to their
 'Advantage, there is no doubt to be made of
 'the Execution: But the Question is, Whether
 'they will keep themselves within the Bounds
 'of the Treaty? which is a Thing that all
 '*Europe* cannot warrant. No Treaty was ever
 'made with that Crown during the whole Course
 'of the last Age, in which care was not taken
 'to prevent all the *Chicanes* they could possibly
 'ground upon ambiguous Words, difficult Pas-
 'sages, or Irregularities of Style, and Law;
 'and

“and yet all these Cautions could never hinder
 “them from putting false Interpretations upon
 “the Text, and pretending Nullities in Law,
 “whenever they found it convenient. —

‘ Things being so, can Men look upon the The Renun-
 ‘ following Clause stipulated in the fourth Arti- ciations of
 ‘ cle any otherwise than as a mere Illusion? the Partiti-
 ‘ *The most Christian King, as well in his own mere Illu-
 ‘ Name, as in that of Monsieur the Dauphin, his ons.*

‘ *Male Children, Heirs, and Successors, born or
 ‘ to be born; as also Monsieur the Dauphin for
 ‘ himself and his Children, Male or Female, &c.
 ‘ promise and engage to renounce, at the Opening
 ‘ of the said Succession of Spain, as in this Case
 ‘ they do at this Time renounce, all their Rights
 ‘ and Pretensions to the said Crown of Spain,
 ‘ and to all the other Kingdoms, Islands, &c. all
 ‘ which they shall confirm by solemn Acts, in the
 ‘ most authentic and best Form that may be: Or,
 ‘ upon that in the fifteenth Article? All the
 ‘ Acts made in Consequence of the Treaty, or that
 ‘ have relation thereunto, and especially the so-
 ‘ lemn Acts which his most Christian Majesty,
 ‘ and Monsieur the Dauphin, are obliged to give
 ‘ by Virtue of the fourth Article, shall be regis-
 ‘ ter'd in the Parliament of Paris, according to
 ‘ their Form and Tenure, and usual Custom. If
 ‘ the Marriage Contracts of the two late Queens
 ‘ of France, and the Acts of Renunciation
 ‘ which they gave upon them, were not so well
 ‘ known, it would be easy to shew by the Con-
 ‘ tents of the fourth, fifth, and sixth Articles of
 ‘ those Contracts, that none of all these Condi-
 ‘ tions are there omitted, but on the contrary,
 ‘ so firmly stipulated, and attended with such
 ‘ provisional Causes, that possibly greater Care
 ‘ was never taken on both Sides, to establish the
 ‘ Security and Duration of any Treaty. —*

‘ Upon the same Principle, the Guarantee of The Gua-
 ‘ the Maritime Powers, and all others that rantees not
 ‘ should come in, may be consider'd as another able to se-
 ‘ Illusion. Treaty. cure the Du-
 ‘ ration of the

‘ Illusion. It may indeed serve to compel the
 ‘ Emperor to be contented with his Lot, but not to
 ‘ force the *French* King to content himself with
 ‘ his: for when he has taken Possession of his
 ‘ Share without any Opposition, he will easily be
 ‘ Master of the Rest.

‘ In every Guarantee there is required, not on-
 ‘ ly a steady and constant Will, but also a Strength
 ‘ sufficient to enforce the Observation, of a Trea-
 ‘ ty; neither of which is to be found here. For
 ‘ as to the Will, can we suppose it constant in
 ‘ King WILLIAM, who is old, infirm, and, which
 ‘ is more, liable to be cross’d by contrary Dispo-
 ‘ sitions in his People? Can we suppose it the U-
 ‘ nited Provinces, whose Government is so easily
 ‘ embarrassed; and who, to obtain a present Peace,
 ‘ will always sacrifice a future Interest? What I
 ‘ here say of these Powers ought to be understood
 ‘ of all the rest, who either are subject to such in-
 ‘ ternal Distempers, as make them unable to exert
 ‘ themselves, or have Enemies abroad, that ne-
 ‘ cessitate them to keep a vigilant Eye upon Af-
 ‘ fairs at home. — But if we can ground
 ‘ no Expectations upon the Will of the
 ‘ Guarantees, much less can we upon their
 ‘ Force: For, besides that they may find Em-
 ‘ ployment at home, or a Diversion abroad, by
 ‘ the Artifices of the *French* Court, I would fain
 ‘ know of what Consideration are the Forces of
 ‘ *England* and *Holland*, in comparison with those
 ‘ of *France*? And for those of the Emperor, they
 ‘ may have Work enough to cover his Hereditary
 ‘ Country against such Enemies as that Crown
 ‘ may arm against him. But let us for once sup-
 ‘ pose that the *French* will find as many Enemies
 ‘ as in the last War, which yet is utterly impos-
 ‘ sible; Will they not have such an Accession of
 ‘ Power, as must needs give them the Superiority?
 ‘ And if no essential Advantage could be ob-
 ‘ tain’d against them in that, what can we expect
 ‘ in this?

‘ If

' If then the Precautions mention'd in the ^{Indignity and} fourth and fifteenth Articles of the Partition ^{Abfurdity of} Treaty are mere Illufions, and the Guarantee of ^{the Motives} the two Maritime Powers, with as many more ^{to the} as would engage fo infufficient a Security for ^{Treaty.} Performance, what might not be here faid of the Indignity and Abfurdity of the Motives upon which it is founded? They are full of Compassion for the Sicknefs of the Catholic King; they cannot *turn their Thoughts towards the sad Events of his Death without Affliction, by Reason of the fincere and unfeigned Friendfhip they have for him.* But to what End are thefe vain Exprefions, unlefs to colour a Conspiracy formed againft his Crown, to put the *French King* into Poffeffion of the beft Part, and refer the Reft to his Difcretion? Then, what can be more abfurd than the Motive they alledge, pretending to rectify the Injuftice, and Enormity of the Partition by their Intentions to prevent a War? And who does not fee, that by the fame Injuftice they make it unavoidable? the Emperor's Right, the Intereft of *Spain*, and the fecurity of *Europe* rendering a War indifpenfably neceffary. For to pretend that the Emperor and the Catholic King fhould fubmit to the unjuft Decree of thefe new Legislators, is what can never be requir'd of them with any Colour of Reason. Befides, 'tis the Intereft of all Nations, to whom this Treaty is injurious, and like to prove fatal, to make this Caufe their own; from whence a War muft of Necessity enfue, into which all *Europe* will be obliged to enter.—

' If the Peace and Tranquillity of *Europe* depended abfolutely upon the Execution of the Treaty, the Emperor's Right might then be confider'd as a private Advantage, and as fuch be efteemed fubordinate to the general Good; the contrary of which is moft true. For the Intereft of his Imperial Majefty is that of all

Europe.

‘ *Europe*, whose Peace and Security depends entirely upon the Preservation of the whole ‘ *Spanish* Monarchy in the Person of his second ‘ Son ; which Truth is but too well prov’d already, and confirm’d even by the Disposition of ‘ the Partition-Treaty.

‘ In that Treaty the *French* King has stipulated for himself the Kingdoms of *Naples* and ‘ *Sicily*, divers Places and Islands situated upon ‘ the Coast of *Tuscany*, the City and Marquisate ‘ of *Final*, the Province or *Guipuscoa*, &c. all ‘ which Kingdoms, Islands, Provinces, and Places, are to be incorporated with his Crown, ‘ together with the Dominions of the Duke of ‘ *Lorrain*, who in Recompence is to receive the ‘ Dutchy of *Milan* for himself and his Heirs for ‘ ever. The Archduke *Charles* is to have for his ‘ Lot *Spain*, with the other Kingdoms, Islands, ‘ Dominions, Countries and Places, possess’d at ‘ present by the Catholic King, as well in *Europe* ‘ as elsewhere ; but under two Conditions. First, ‘ That unless the Emperor accepts the Treaty ‘ within the Term of three Months after he is ‘ duly inform’d, the Treaters shall agree upon a ‘ Prince to whom his Part shall be given. — ‘ Secondly, That this Part shall never be united ‘ or remain in the Person of any of his Descendants, or the Descendants of the Emperor, ‘ who shall be either Emperor, or King of the ‘ *Romans*.

‘ These Conditions thus tack’d to the Lot of ‘ the Archduke, being only so many Snares laid ‘ by the *French*, as well to make his Part insignificant to him, as to have an Occasion to ‘ seize the whole into their Hands, I shall ‘ endeavour to discover the artificial Contrivance ‘ of them.

The Conditions sub-join’d to the Archduke’s Lot, so many

‘ 1. The Lot stipulated for the Dauphin is to be ‘ incorporated with the Crown of *France*, which ‘ is already but too powerful ; whereas that of ‘ the Emperor is to be the Apennage of a younger ‘ Son.

‘ Son, and that upon Condition never to be united
‘ by Succession, of otherwise, to that of the Eldest
‘ if he becomes Emperor; which is such a Dis-
‘ proportion, that supposing the Equality of the
‘ Lots, excludes all Comparison in Point of Ad-
‘ vantage, since that of the Dauphin augments
‘ the Grandeur of *France*, whilst that of the Arch-
‘ duke not only deprives the Emperor of his
‘ Right to the Whole, but tends directly to over-
‘ throw his Power.

‘ 2. The *French* King stipulates for himself
‘ what he knows would be most difficult to sub-
‘ due by Force, *Lorraine* only excepted, and
‘ leaves to the Archduke the decay’d and ruin-
‘ ous Dominions of *Spain* and the *Low-Coun-*
‘ *tries*, which cannot fail to fall into his own
‘ Hands as soon as he is in Possession of his
‘ Lot ———

‘ 3. That the Lot of the Archduke must fall
‘ into the Hands of the *French* as soon as they are
‘ in Possession of their Part, needs no Proof;
‘ since ’tis impossible for this Prince to keep *Spain*,
‘ when he can have no Assistance from abroad,
‘ nor any Communication with the Hereditary
‘ Countries of the Family in *Germany*; whilst
‘ *France* is Mistress of the Frontiers, as well by
‘ her preceding Conquests, as by the design’d
‘ dismembering of *Guipuscoa*. In the next Place,
‘ of what Advantage will the *Low-Countries* be to
‘ him, unless to serve for a Theatre of eternal
‘ Wars with the Crown of *France*, which must of
‘ necessity be always triumphant, by reason of
‘ the Neighbourhood of its Provinces, and the
‘ many Places they possess in those Parts? In
‘ which the two Branches of the House of *Au-*
‘ *stria* will be entirely exhausted, only to preserve
‘ a Barrier for the *Dutch* against the Invasions of
‘ *France*, in recompence of the irreparable Mis-
‘ chiefs they have brought upon their Family. In
‘ a word, what will be the Fate of the *Spanish*
‘ Provinces.

Snares to
bring it into
the Possession
of the
French.

• Provinces in *America*, and the *East-Indies*, with
 • the Islands they possess out of *Europe*, unless to
 • become the Scorn of the *French*, *English*, and
 • *Dutch* Pirates? For if the *Spaniards* could not
 • secure them in the Height of their Power,
 • what will they be able to do in this State of
 • Desolation?

• 4. The Condition stipulated by the Treaters,
 • to nominate a third Person to the Lot of the
 • Archduke, in case of Refusal, can be consider-
 • ed no otherwise than as a double Snare laid by
 • *France* for the Princes of the House of *Austria*,
 • to deprive them by that Means of what seemed
 • to be left them by the Treaty, In this Respect the
 • more dangerous, because the Emperor could no
 • way offend it. For if he accepted the Treaty, he of-
 • fended the Catholick King in the highest Degree,
 • and drew upon himself the hatred of the *Spaniards*,
 • which would certainly have determined them
 • to settle the Crown upon a Son of *France*. —
 • On the other Hand, if the Emperor refused
 • the Treaty, they would proceed to nominate
 • another; and then by tampering with all,
 • they would have sold their Suffrage to the high-
 • est Bidder.

• 5. This Condition covers yet a more dange-
 • rous Snare than the former; for the three
 • Powers not presently agreeing upon another
 • Person, the *French* would take advantage of
 • that Delay, and propose the Lot of the Archduke
 • to several Princes, as a Prey to be divided among
 • them; which would be a Means to bring some
 • of them off from their Alliance with the
 • House of *Austria*, and to make others neglect
 • their true Interest, in this great Alteration of
 • Affairs. —

• 6. The *French* may not only take Advantage
 • of this Delay to seduce some and amuse others,
 • whilst they fortify their Party in *Spain*, as well by
 • their Intrigues, as by the Terror of their Arms:
 • But the Opportunities they would have in the
 • principal

principal Courts of *Europe*, to lure them into their Interest, or at least to persuade them to enter into the Guarantee of the Treaty, would not less contribute to facilitate their grand Design. And it is to be feared, that by these Means they may engage such a Party, that both *England* and *Holland* would find it difficult to break, whenever they shall return to their true Interest. —

7. If King WILLIAM, by the Scheme of the Partition, designed to interest the House of *Austria* in the Defence of the *Low-Countries*, without rendering them too powerful there; and at the same Time, to oblige the *French* to turn the Strength of their Arms from that Frontier, by engaging them in an *Italian War*; it is certain he could not take any Measures less conducing to that End. For if all the Power of that House could not maintain those Provinces against *France*, confined to its own Limits; What can now be done, after so vast an Addition of new Acquisitions? And who can tell whether the People of those Countries, weary of suffering as much by the fruitless and burdensome Succours of the Maritime Powers, as from the Invasions of *France*, will not desperately throw themselves into the Arms of that Crown? Then as to the Diversion pretended in *Italy*, if the *French King* becomes Master of *Spain*, either for himself or one of his Family, to which Things seem to tend more and more every Day; either he will find little Difficulty in seizing the *Spanish Dominions* in *Italy*, as accessional to the Head; — or else there will be no Diversion at all. But if, on the other Hand, the Treaty produce its Effect, and the two Branches of the House of *Austria* be deprived of a mutual Communication, while *France* is furnished with Means both of diverting the Emperor's Arms by an intestine War, and embarrassing the Affairs of the two Maritime Powers, a War

* War in *Italy* can neither be difficult nor
 * lasting.—

* Tho' the Points last mentioned are sufficient
 * to alarm all *Europe*, if the approaching Dan-
 * gers be duly considered; yet the Court of *France*
 * is so indefatigable in using all her Arts to disguise
 * or conceal the dismal Prospect, that I think my-
 * self obliged to discover the common Peril, and
 * to prove with Demonstration, that tho' the
 * *French* King should not get one Foot of Ground
 * upon the Death of his Catholic Majesty; yet if
 * he can procure his Dominions to be divided,
 * such a Dismembering alone would place
 * *France* in the Throne of the Universal Mo-
 * narchy, to which she has such a vehement
 * Desire.

The Dis-
 membering
 of the *Spa-
 nish* Monar-
 chy, a Ma-
 ster-piece of
France.

* If the *French* scatter their Treasures in all the
 * Courts of *Europe*; if they amuse one Part, and
 * draw the other into their Interests; if they em-
 * broil People on all Sides, only for the Sake of
 * embroiling; if they maintain great Armies,
 * which exhaust their Country; in a word, if they
 * move Heaven and Hell, to make as many Ene-
 * mies to the Emperor as they can, and to seduce
 * his Allies, no Man ought to wonder. For
 * this is a Master-game; and if they succeed,
 * they will be reimburs'd with Interest, and
 * become absolute Arbitrators of *Europe*. The
 * great Business of *France* is to triumph over
 * her Rival, which cannot fail, if she be permit-
 * ted to tear up the Foundations of her Power,
 * by dismembering the Dominions of the *Spanish*
 * Monarchy: For so soon as the House of *Austria*
 * shall cease to be the Balance of her Power, no
 * other Bank will be capable of putting a Stop to
 * her Rapidity and Violence. And here I cannot
 * but wonder at certain speculative Politicians,
 * who either thro' Humour or Prepossession, look
 * upon the Danger without Concern; relying up-
 * on trivial, antiquated and unseasonable Maxims.
 * They will wait for a Remedy from Time, which
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will either never come, or will come too late ;
 and they doubt no more of Revolutions, which
 depend entirely upon Chance, than they do of
 Evangelical Truths ; even inferring from the
 present Grandeur and Elevation of *France*, a
 Necessity of her approaching Ruin. If these
 Enthusiastic Politicians had well examined the
 present State of *Europe*, and that of *France*, I
 am sure they would reason in another Manner.
 But I shall only desire they would consider the
 Example of the *Ottoman* Empire, and then blush
 at their own Indiscretion : For if this vast Pow-
 er has already continued above four Ages, it is
 to be presumed that of *France* may last longer,
 especially considering all those Maxims so proper
 for Conquest, which she has not only copied
 from thence, but taken care to observe in the
 most punctual Manner, both at home and a-
 broad. It is therefore their Business to consider,
 whether this kind of Government will agree
 with them or not, for they must determine, and
 that speedily”.

As the Execution of the Partition Treaty seem-
 ed to be the grand Object of the two Maritime
 Powers, the Author proceeded to shew what Ad-
 vantages the *French* would obtain by their Lot, in
 order to their grand Design ; which was to render
 that of the Archduke so burdensome to him and
 his Family, as might pave the Way for them to
 seize it upon the first War. This he did very ful-
 ly and clearly : But as we have already extracted
 enough to set this iniquitous Treaty in a strong
 Light, and to justify even those Subjects of *Great*
Britain who disapproved it, I shall not extend this
 Matter any farther.

While these Negotiations were privately carried
 on between *France* and the Maritime Powers, as
 well as when they were made public by the *French*
 Court, and thus exposed and remonstrated against
 by the two Branches of the *Austrian* Family, a
 constant Correspondence was kept up between
 his

his Excellency the Earl of *Manchester* in *France*, and my Lord *Jersey*'s Office in *England*, to which Mr. *Prior* belong'd. By inserting the principal Letters that pass'd at that Time, or such Extracts of them as contain any Thing important, we shall form some Judgment of the Share each of these Ministers had in the Partition Treaty, and in all the other Affairs then on the Carpet.

Mr. *Prior*, I before took notice, staid a short Time, in *France* after Lord *Manchester*'s Arrival. We learn it from his Lordship's Letters to the Earl of *Jersey*, the first of which here follows.

To the Earl of JERSEY.

My Lord,

Paris, Aug. 8. 1699. N. S.

Letters of
Lord *Man-*
chester, Lord
Jersey, Mr.
Prior, &c.

I Can now acquaint your Lordship, that I arriv'd here the 5th, and the next Day I sent a Compliment to Monsieur *Saintot*, * who immediately waited on me, and gave me to understand, that Monsieur *de Torcy* was expected in Town. Mr. *Prior* writ to him, and he appointed the Afternoon to see me. Your Lordship knows the usual Ceremonies on such Occasions. He seem'd extremely civil, and let me know the King did not return to *Versailles* till Thursday next, and that then I should have an Audience of him. The Ambassador of *Savoy* was to wait on me, and this Day I shall return his Visit.——

I am oblig'd to your Lordship for letting me have your House, which I like extremely; though my Equipage not being come from *Rouen*, puts me under some Difficulties, But with the Help of Mr. *Prior* all Things are made easy. He has deliver'd your Lordship's Letter to Monsieur *de Torcy*; and he took notice to me

* Master of the Ceremonies.

Mr. PRIOR's Negotiations.

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how well Mr. PRIOR has behaved himself during his Stay here.

MANCHESTER.

The two following Extracts need no particular Remark.

To the Earl of JERSEY.

My Lord,

Paris, Aug. 15. 1699.

I AM now entering upon a troublesome Part of my Business, the King having appointed To-morrow for an Audience at *Versailles*. I cannot tell whether Monsieur and Madame will be there Mr. PRIOR intends to set out for *Loos* as soon as these Audiences are over, &c.

MANCHESTER.

To the Earl of JERSEY.

My Lord,

Paris, Aug. 19, 1699.

I AM now to acquaint your Lordship that all my private Audiences are over, except that of the Dauphin and the Dutcheſs of *Chartres*, which I am to have To-morrow Morning at *Meudon*. On Sunday Morning last I waited on the King. — I shall never fail to press the Dispatch of such Matters as are committed to my Care, whatever the Success may be. Mr. PRIOR will leave this Place on *Monday* next, &c.

MANCHESTER.

Great Part of the Earl of *Manchester*'s Business in *France*, was to present Memorials concerning Injuries received: Of what kind they were, we may in some measure learn from the following Extract.

E

To

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord,

Loo, Aug. 25. 1699.

I HAVE more than once troubled your Excellency with Complaints of Hardships sustained by his Majesty's Subjects in *France*, upon account of their being Protestants. But his Majesty has commanded me at present to inform your Lordship of a very great Violence offered to an *English* Ship at Sea, coming from a Foreign Part, which has been attack'd by one of *France*, and the Passengers taken out contrary to the Treaties between the two Crowns for the Freedom of Trade and Navigation, and the Law of Nations. I need not further open this Affair to your Lordship, but refer you to the enclosed Papers, upon which your Lordship is to form a Complaint, and to present a Memorial to the *French* Court. Mr. PRIOR will have put into your Lordship's Hands the Business of Messieurs *de la Forest* and *de Scheus*, wherein your Lordship's good Offices will be wanting, according to the Directions already given. I am,

W. BLATHWAYT.

We do not find that the Earl of *Manchester's* Remonstrances were always effectual at the *French* Court, though his Person seemed to be very acceptable. He had before complained to the Earl of *Jersey*, that he feared he should do but little, especially in Matters that relate to the *French* Refugees, whatever Promises had been made to my Lord *Portland* or the Earl of *Jersey* himself. Of this he gives an Instance in the Answer of Messieurs *de la Forest* and *Scheus* above-mentioned; whose Case, however, is not at large recited. And now, as to the other Busi-

* Letter of Aug. 19.

fines about which Mr. *Blathwayt* writes at
 King WILLIAM's express Command, his Lord-
 ship says in another Letter *, That 'till he has
 ' more particular Informations about the Matter,
 ' he cannot think it proper to make his Com-
 ' plaint; for it is easy to foresee, that this Court
 ' will give him but little Satisfaction upon it, if he
 ' cannot tell whom to charge with the Fault. He
 ' therefore desires my Lord *Jersey* to send him
 ' what farther Discoveries he can make about it,
 ' that the Matter may be as clear as possible".
 Accordingly my Lord *Jersey* sent him over a
 Paper, which had been presented to the Lords
 Justices, who look'd upon it as a Thing of so
 extraordinary a Nature, that they thought fit
 to lay it before the King for his particular Di-
 rections." But the King of *France* was inflexible
 with regard to his Protestant Subjects, of which
 Sort it appears were the Passengers, twelve in
 Number, who were taken out of an *English* Ves-
 sel. That Monarch, whatever has been said to
 his Advantage, was in reality a bigotted Enthu-
 siast, very ignorant of the Laws of Nature and
 Nations; his whole Reign, with regard to his
 Subjects, being a continued Violation of the
 former, and with regard to his Neighbours, of
 the latter. But we cannot give a better Idea of
 this Part of his Character, than by inserting his
 Excellency's Words in another Letter to Lord
Jersey, who had before writ to him about the
 Affair therein mentioned.

My Lord,

Paris, Sept. 2. 1699.

I DID observe your Lordship's Directions,
 and had an Audience fix'd before I spoke
 to Monsieur de *Torcy*; tho' when I acquainted
 him with the Nature of what I was to say, I

* Sept. 5.

' found little Hopes of Succes. He would have
 ' had me delay it for some Time, and till I had
 ' inform'd myself how much the Pretensions of
 ' Madamoiselle *Malause* amounted to; which I
 ' declined, saying, that what I was to ask of his
 ' Majesty was a Favour, and in such a Case the
 ' Sum was not to be considered. Accordingly I
 ' had my Audience, and I must say, the King
 ' expressed himself in all the obliging Terms that
 ' could be used in a Refusal. He said, He was
 ' extremely troubled, whenever the King of *Eng-*
 ' *land* asked any Thing that he could not grant,
 ' and that he hoped he should not be put upon
 ' these Difficulties for the future. I did argue
 ' the Case as much as it was proper, letting him
 ' know that the King had that Consideration for
 ' her and her Family, that he hoped his Majesty
 ' would oblige him in it, and distinguish her, she
 ' having had leave to go out of *Erance*; pre-
 ' ferring this as far as was possible. He was pleased
 ' to answer, that he knew very well all that could
 ' be said upon this Subject; that he had made it
 ' a Rule, which he could not but observe, that if
 ' he granted it, he must take from one to give to
 ' the other; and that the better Way was not to
 ' amuse me with Hopes, since his Resolution was
 ' never to grant any thing of this Nature: But
 ' that he hoped the King would be convinced of
 ' his Readiness to comply with him in Matters of
 ' greater Consequence. I hope my Lord *Fever-*
 ' *sham* will believe I have done all I could out of
 ' Respect for him; though it is not an agreeable
 ' Subject to speak to, when one is morally satisfied
 ' to be denied. I must desire your Lordship will
 ' be so kind as to prevent, as much as you can,
 ' any Demands in Relation to the *French* Refu-
 ' gees; for I am confident they design to weary
 ' us out at last by their Refusals, and that it is
 ' not in my poor Opinion, much for the King's
 ' Honour. I intend to press the Case of Mes-
 ' sieurs *de la Forest* and *de Scheus*, it being, as I
 ' take

Mr. PRIOR's Negotiations.

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' take it, already granted; though I believe
' they will at last evade it. ———

I am, &c.

MANCHESTER.

Thus we see King WILLIAM could not obtain any Thing from the *French* Court by Remonstrances, which he had neglected to stipulate in the Treaty of *Ryswick*: But this will not be wondered at, when we reflect how short a Time that Treaty itself was found binding, in its most material Articles. We have another Example of the Neglect shewn to the *British* Minister's Instances, in a Letter dated only a Week after the foregoing.

To the Earl of JERSEY.

My Lord,

Paris, Sept. 9. 1699.

I HAVE received your Lordship's Letter of the 24th past, with the enclosed Papers, relating to the *English* Goods seized by *Du Bart*, on board some *Dantzick* Ships, and will present another Memorial about that Affair, if your Lordship pleases; tho' I cannot expect any good Effect from it, because they gave a positive Denial to Mr. PRIOR, as I find by *Monf. Torcy's* Answer to his Demands upon that Head, entered into the Book of Memorials. The Words are these, *That the Ships upon which these Goods were taken are Dantzickers; that Oath is made, that the Goods, which the English reclaimed, belonged likewise to Merchants at Dantzick; that the French hold it therefore for good Prize, and consequently will not restore it, but think the English must have recourse to Dantzick for Reparation of the Losses, which they suffer in this Affair.* ———

I am, &c.

MANCHESTER.

E 3

Mr.

The HISTORY of

Mr. PRIOR being arrived at *Loo*, where King WILLIAM then kept his Court, he wrote the following Letter from thence to the Earl of *Manchester* at *Paris*, whom he had lately left.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord,

Loo, Sept. 11. 1699.

I DID not trouble you by last Post, not being then able to give a very good Account of myself; which I can do now, having had the Honour of a very long and particular Audience of his Majesty this Morning; the Effect of which is, that he knows all I was able to inform him of, in relation to the present State of our Affairs in the Kingdom where you are, and that I am ordered to go from hence to-morrow Morning for the *Hague*, to receive what Orders his Majesty may send me, and to wait there till his farther Pleasure be known.

Your Excellency sees by the inclosed Memoir, the Case of one *Girard*, a Minister of *Neuschattel*, whom his most Christian Majesty will protect against what *Madame de Nemours*, the lawful Sovereign of the Place, designs to do in relation to her own Subject. His Majesty commands me to intimate to your Excellency, That it is his Pleasure, that you concert with Monsieur *Friebergen* upon this Subject, and use your best endeavours with the Court of *France*, that they should let the Matter be examined and decided by its competent Judges, according to the Sense of the inclosed Memoir, of which Monsieur *Friebergen* has likewise a Copy.

You will have heard of the King of *Denmark's* Death before this reaches you; so that as to public News I shall not trouble you.

As to more private Affairs, *Obrian* is taken up at *Brussels*; so your Excellency must get *Bayly* to tell you the Particulars of what he knows

' knows relating to that Man, and what he
' thinks would be best to do, that his being taken
' up may be serviceable to his Majesty's Inte-
' rests.

' I write this Letter inclosed to *Bayly* upon this
' Head: The Account he will give your Excel-
' lency you will be pleased to send directly to Mr.
' *Blathwayt*.

' I take this Opportunity, my Lord, to repeat
' my Thanks to you for your Favours to me
' while I staid with you at *Paris*; and to assure
' your Excellency, that in all Places and Stations
' I continue with great Respect, &c.

M. P R I O R.

Mr. PRIOR, at this Time, was concerned in the most secret Affairs, and supposed to know as much of them as any Man whatsoever. He is continually spoken of with the utmost Confidence in the Ministerial Letters, and seems to have been very much relied on. We have the following Paragraph in an inclosed Paper from Lord *Manchester* to Lord *Jersey*, dated Sept. 23, 1699.

' I am informed that one Mr. *Mennis*, or *Min-
nis*, a *Scotchman*, embarked at *Calais* for *Do-
ver* the Beginning of this Month. The best
' Account I can get of him at present is, That
' he has followed the late King's Fortune ever
' since the Revolution, and being a Man of Let-
' ters, and of Intrigue, found Means to insinu-
' ate himself into Lord *Middleton*'s Favour, who
' employed him in forging Letters from the Ja-
' cobite Party in *Scotland* to the late King, com-
' plaining of Lord *Melford*, and desiring he
' might be removed from the Ministry, and
' Lord *Middleton* appointed to carry on the Cor-
' respondence with them. This Forging, it
' seems, was discovered by *Melford*, who there-
' upon ruin'd him at *St. Germain*s; since which

The HISTORY of

‘ Time he has continued in Disgrace and Want,
 ‘ which I am told are the chief Motives that in-
 ‘ duce him to venture home. Mr. PRIOR can
 ‘ give some Account of him, and I suppose *
 ‘ Mr. Macky too, since he embarked in the
 ‘ Packet-Boat at *Dover*.’

Concerning *Obrian*, mentioned in Mr. PRIOR’s Letter, Mr. *Hill* wrote thus from *Brussels*, to Lord *Manchester*.

‘ I came hither about six Days ago, in order
 ‘ to send away to a safer Place one *Obrian* an
 ‘ *Irishman*, who was lately come from *Paris*, and
 ‘ had been noted as a dangerous Man. I sent
 ‘ him to *Breda*, and there I believe he is in good
 ‘ Hands. I would now beg of your Lordship to
 ‘ let some Enquiry be made about him, that we
 ‘ may know what he can discover at least, if he
 ‘ can be brought to Confession. I believe this is
 ‘ the Man who carried off *Goodman*, and I believe
 ‘ he went also from *England* with Sir *George*
 ‘ *Berkeley*.’ —

In answer to these two Requests, Lord *Manchester* inclosed the following Paper in a Letter to Lord *Jersey*, dated Oct. 5. 1669.

‘ The best Account I can learn of *Obrian*, is
 ‘ what he said of himself when he first came
 ‘ over, viz. That he was always a great Acquain-
 ‘ tance of *Goodman*; that they had often robbed
 ‘ upon the Highway; that when he received the
 ‘ News of his being an Evidence, he was in Custody of a Messenger; that he was engaged with

* This Mr. MACKY was at that Time Director of the Packet-Boats between *Dover* and *France*. He wrote Characters of the *English* and *Scots* Nobility, &c. to be found in a Book intitled, *Memoirs of Secret Services*.

‘ him

him in the Assassination, though none of the others knew of it, which made him resolve to get Goodman out of the Way; so employing some Friends, he soon obtained his Liberty. Colonel Ingram came to him, and told him, that his Friend would ruin Lord Aylesbury and Lord Montgomery, if not prevented; and that those Lords would not spare any Money to persuade Goodman to go to France, or to have him carried away by Force. This Obrian undertook, and Ingram procured a Settlement of 500 *l.* per Ann. from the two Lords, besides 500 *l.* in Money. That with some Difficulty Obrian and Ingram met Goodman at the Dog in Drury-Lane, where with fair Words, but more out of Fear, he consented to go, and Obrian never left him afterwards till he brought him to St. Germain's, where he was well received: But having spent their Money, and Goodman not finding any Thing would be done for him, he was dissatisfied; and lest, when my Lord Portland came, he might go to his House for Protection, he was secured, and was never heard of since. This Obrian soon after turned his Religion, and so procured a small Pension. Upon the Peace, Colonel Ingram was obliged to leave England, by reason of the late Act of Parliament, and Obrian complained to King JAMES that he kept their Money, which he denied: But soon after, the said Lords remitted 250 *l.* which King JAMES ordered to be divided between Obrian and Goodman's Woman, and so Matters continued till he went to Brussels to Lord Aylesbury. It is thought, that if he believed he should not be soon released, he would discover all he knows, and he is fully acquainted with the Proceedings of most Lords.

As for the Persons in Custody, I cannot learn any Thing but what Mr. PRIOR knows. They are no longer in Pain for them at St. Germain's.

‘ since Lord *Melford* writes from *Flanders*, that
 ‘ there is no Evidence against them.’——

The Affair of Monsieur *Girard*, the Minister of *Neufchattel*, mentioned in Mr. PRIOR’s Letter, was represented to the *French* Ministry by M. *Friebergen*, the *Dutch* Ambassador, my Lord *Manchester* being indisposed: but the Representation had no Effect, the King of *France* persisting in his Resolution of protecting the Minister, in Defiance of the Treaty of *Ryswick*.

Before Mr. PRIOR removed from *Holland*, he wrote Lord *Manchester* the following Letter.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord,

Hague, Oct 16. 1699.

I HAVE the Honour of your Excellency’s Letters, that of the 5th, which came strait hither, and that of the 30th past, by way of *England*, and returned thence. I understand by the Gentleman, nothing can be done so soon as we wish: But as I have spoken to the Persons concerned here, in a little time I shall be able to give him a better Answer than I can at present. It is thought proper that *Bayly* be continued *in statu quo*. Mr. *Yard* has let my Lord *Jersey* know what he has done in relation to the Advices which *Couchman* brought. This, at present, my Lord, is all I can say upon this Subject in general; as soon as we can get together in *England*, I hope to be more particular upon it, and more satisfactory to the Gentlemen concerned.

‘ We expect the King here to-morrow Night for certain, and about *Saturday* following we shall be wishing the Wind fair. *Obrian* is by this Time on board, in order to his going for *England*. The other Persons seized this Summer, about *Loe*, are still in Custody at *Arnhem*.

‘ I trouble

Mr. PRIOR's Negotiations.

83

' I trouble Mr. *Stanyan* with what is less material, and detain your Excellency no longer than to repeat to you the Assurances of my being with Zeal and Respect,'

M. P R I O R.

Lord *Jersey* having been in *Holland* with his Majesty at the End of the Season, he received at his Return a Letter from Lord *Manchester*, of which we shall give an Extract.

My Lord,

Paris, Oct. 29, 1699.

' I Suppose this will find your Lordship safely arrived in *England*, and I hope you received mine of the 5th Instant in *Holland*, wherein I gave your Lordship the fullest Account I could get of *Obrian*.

' I am to acquaint your Lordship, that *Bryerly*, one of the Assassimators, who had formerly some Thoughts of going into *England*, and discovering what he knew, in Hopes of obtaining his Pardon, and getting a Recompence, continues still in great Necessity, and is said to be in the same Resolution. Some Steps were made by Mr. PRIOR in that Matter, when he was here, of which he can inform your Lordship; and in case it may be judged for his Majesty's Service to have him come over. I am sure the Promise of a Pardon and some Reward will tempt him. I therefore desire your Lordship would send me his Majesty's Directions thereupon, which I shall contrive to perform in the safest Manner for him, and the Person who is to go between us.'

MANCHESTER.

Two

The HISTORY of

Two Days after his Lordship wrote a Letter to Mr. PRIOR, which is the first that has been preserved, though doubtless many preceded it.

S I R,

Paris, Oct. 31. 1699.

I SHALL now begin to trouble you often, believing you are settled in the Office, which will be another Sort of Life than that in *France*, but when I consider you have so worthy a Person, and so good a Friend to act under, I then think nothing can stand in Competition with it. I shall be every Day more sensible of the Loss of you here, which I hope you will make up to me, by letting me hear often from you. I have acquainted my Lord *Jersey* with what * passed in relation to me and the *Portugal* Ambassador in the Apartment of Monsieur de *Torcy*. He is going away, else it would be impossible but there must be farther Disputes of that Nature. The first Opportunity, I have, I shall certainly return his Rudeness. When you can do it conveniently, put my Lord *Jersey* in mind of what we have often discoursed about, in relation to the Affairs of *France*, and what he was so kind as to say he would prevent, if possible, when I had the Honour of seeing him last. You can easily imagine I shall not be able to obtain any Thing of this Court, if Matters of Moment must be only transacted by Monsieur de *Tallard*: Not that I am desirous of knowing more than what he would think proper, in the Post I am in. I need not tell you that as a great Expence is necessary here, so an Esteem for the Person is as much; and I flatter myself I shall not forfeit it, unless this Court finds I am only here to make a Show.

* The Affront his Lordship mentions, was the Ambassadors running in before him, contrary to Form, at the French Minister's.

: Monsieur

' Monsieur de Tallard is daily expected, and
' it may be will still make his Complaints, as
' formerly, of the Delays he meets with in Eng-
' land. If so, I can now answer him much better,
' by what I have seen since my coming here.

' The Day of Parade is near, and, with the
' Help of the Advice you give me, it will go
' well. The Calash is done, and I like it ; though
' I assure you the Coaches I brought from Eng-
' land do exceed it in Gilding, Painting, and
' Carving. All who see it do own, and the
' French confess, they cannot come up to our
' Gilding, though they pretend theirs will last
' longer. I wish you was to be here for a few
' Days. The best Apartment is now *a la Fran-
' coise* ; Velvet and Damask Chairs with Gold
' Galoon, the Frames gilded, Marble Tables,
' with large Looking-Glasses, &c. I found it
' was absolutely necessary, and when I was do-
' ing it, I would do it well. The Chappel, which
' I have enlarged into the Garden, looks very
' handsome.

' I cannot finish this, without my Wishes that
' you may succeed in all Things for your Ad-
' vantage.'

I am, &c.

MANCHESTER.

Immediately after receiving this Letter, Mr.
PRIOR was sent over to Lord Manchester at Paris.
We have a short Letter from Lord Jersey, which
gives some Idea of the Message he was sent on,
and shews the great Credit he was in with the
then Ministry.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord,

Whitehall, OCT. 23. 1699. O. S.

' I HAVE received your Lordship's Letter of
' the 28th of October. Before you receive
' this

‘ this, Mr. PRIOR will be with you: It is his
 ‘ Majesty’s Desire that you discourse the Business
 ‘ of the Partition Treaty with Mr. PRIOR, who
 ‘ has already Knowledge of it; and according to
 ‘ the Account your Lordship gives next of it, you
 ‘ shall receive his Majesty’s farther Directions.
 ‘ What else your Letters contain, I must beg
 ‘ Leave to put off the answering it to another
 ‘ Time. I am, &c.

J E R S E Y.

Mr. PRIOR being arrived, Lord *Manchester* gave an account of it to Lord *Jersey*, in a Letter dated *Nov. 6. 1699*, which begins thus.

My Lord,

‘ **M**R. PRIOR informed your Lordship, by
 ‘ *Wednesday’s* Post, of his Arrival here.
 ‘ He having explained to me the Subject upon
 ‘ which he was sent, I wrote to *Monsieur de Torcy*,
 ‘ in order to procure an Audience, &c.’ —

This Journey of Mr. PRIOR’s, tho’ he merrily speaks of it himself as if he was only sent of a Courier’s Errand, was a Matter of too much Importance to be passed over privately. The *English* Ambassador informs his Friend the Secretary, in another Letter dated *Nov. 11.* ‘ That he thought proper to tell *Monsieur de Torcy*, that Mr. PRIOR was there, since it was impossible but that he should have heard it’; and his Lordship imagined the *French* Minister ‘ might have thought that he was not fair with him, if he had concealed it.’ In the same Letter Lord *Manchester* mentioned his having applied about bringing the Treaty of *Spain* to a happy Conclusion, and that he was promised an Audience on that Affair: Also, that he had got M. *Frieberg* to go to the *Portugal* Ambassador, for an Explanation of his late Proceeding. That Ambassador, after a great deal of Discourse, said that he had
 not

not heard of any Rule established amongst Ambassadors in their going to Monsieur de Torcy ; that he was in Haste when he went in, and did not intend any Affront.

Mr. PRIOR's Stay at *Paris* was very short. In a few Days after Lord *Manchester's* Writing, he received two Letters, one from the Earl of *Jersey*, and another from his poetical Friend. Lord *Jersey's* has the following Postscript.

' I have received your Lordship's of Nov. 11.
' I told the King the Excuses the *Portugal* Ambassador made you, which his Majesty seemed
' satisfied with. Mr. PRIOR is come; but till
' Monsieur *Tallard* comes, you will have no further Direction about the *Spanish* Affair.'

Mr. PRIOR's Letter we shall insert at large; as indeed nothing ought to be suppressed that came from him.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord,

Lond. Nov. $\frac{3}{13}$. 1699.

' I Arrived here on *Friday* Night, and every
' Body confesses that only *Roger* is fitter than
' I to be sent Express: On *Saturday* Morning
' my Lord *Jersey* carried me to the King. I
' first read to his Majesty what your Lordship
' said to the King of *France*, and what the King
' answered thereupon; and then I explained to
' his Majesty the Substance of the whole that
' had pass'd during my being in *France*. His
' Majesty is satisfied with every Step your Excellency made; and, in one Word, we did as we
' ought to do. His Majesty asked me a great
' many Questions about your Entry. You will
' easily believe I was glad, on that Occasion, to
' do you Justice. His Majesty asked me about
' the Rank which Monsieur de *Torcy's* Coach
' had; and in all this Affair, I can assure your
' Excellency,

‘ Excellency, he is very well satisfied. I have
 ‘ seen as well *Charles* as *James Erby*, and *Chri-*
 ‘ *stopher Montague*. I have been asked ten thou-
 ‘ sand Questions, and gave them the News of
 ‘ my Lord *Mandevil’s* being to arrive at *Paris*
 ‘ within these six Months; for which we wish
 ‘ all very heartily. I contracted a Cold in the
 ‘ Voyage, and wisely increased it, by running
 ‘ about these two Days. I am blooded, and
 ‘ keep my Chamber to-day, which is the Reason
 ‘ of my using another Hand: I hope your Ex-
 ‘ cellency will excuse it. The King dined to-day
 ‘ with my Lord *Rochester*, at his House near
 ‘ *Richmond*; my Lord *Fersey* is gone to dine
 ‘ with him. Whig and Tory are, as of old, im-
 ‘ placable. Dr. *D’Avenant* is coming out with
 ‘ another Book, in which he attacks the Grants;
 ‘ and is (as I am told) very scurrilous against my
 ‘ Lord Chancellor, and our dear Friend * *Charles*.
 ‘ This, I think, is all the News I have known
 ‘ since my Arrival. I have only to add my
 ‘ great Thanks to your Excellency for your Ho-
 ‘ spitality and Kindness to me in *France*, and
 ‘ wish you Success in every Thing there, with
 ‘ all possible Zeal and Sincerity,

I am, &c.

M. P R I O R.

The Account of what passed at Lord *Manche-*
ster’s Audience, which Mr. PRIOR says he read to
 his Majesty, is preserved entire in *Cole’s Memoirs*,
 to which I am indebted for many Particulars in
 this Part of our History. We have it there both
 in *French* and *English*; but the latter is sufficient
 for our Purpose.

* Afterwards Lord *Hallifax*.

‘ Sunday

' Sunday the 15th of November, his Excellency had an Audience of the King at Versailles :
' The Substance of which is as follows.'

His Excellency's Speech.

S I R,

' THE King my Master having found that Lord Manchester's Audience.
' Monsieur de Tallard was, by his Instructions, obliged to quit Holland before he signed the Treaty which was projected with your Majesty, relating to the Succession of Spain ; His Majesty has ordered me to desire this private Audience, to assure you, Sir, that the King continues in the same Sentiments he was always of, in regard to that Treaty. Your Majesty knows very well the good Offices employ'd by the King my Master, to make the Imperialists enter into it. He has also done all he could to make the States like it. His Majesty continues to act as he did. As to what concerns the King's signing it, he caused the Earl of Jersey to come into Holland expressly for this End ; and I doubt not but the Count de Tallard will have told your Majesty, how often the King my Master has offered himself to sign it, to shew that he was ready to do all that depended upon him.

' Your Majesty will give me Leave to be a little long, in telling you how this Affair has passed ; that so your Majesty may have it perfectly cleared up, that there is no Alteration in the Intention of the King my Master. The Business was proposed to the States of the Province of Holland, as to those who were the most interested in it ; for it was not apprehended that any Obstacles should be met with elsewhere, if the Consent of that Province was had. That was also the best Way to make the Secret of this Affair less apt to be divulged.

' Sir,

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Sunday

‘ Sir, if it has been represented to you, that
 ‘ the King my Master might have made use of
 ‘ the Credit he has with the States to cause this
 ‘ Treaty to be concluded; I will own that the
 ‘ King has a great deal of Credit in that Coun-
 ‘ try: But then this Credit does always conform
 ‘ itself to the Manners and Customs of the Coun-
 ‘ try; and if the States had found no Objection,
 ‘ the Business could not have been ended without
 ‘ the Consent of every City; which could not
 ‘ be had in less Time than a Month or three
 ‘ Weeks, as the Pensionary and the Earl of
 ‘ *Portland* have given Count *Tallard* to under-
 ‘ stand. But since his Orders did not give Leave
 ‘ to wait for the Conclusion of the Affair, the
 ‘ King my Master hopes that your Majesty will
 ‘ renew your Orders to Monsieur *de Tallard*, or
 ‘ will send Orders to Monsieur *de Bonrepos*, to
 ‘ endeavour to remove all Obstacles, that so the
 ‘ Project of the Treaty may have its Effect.

The French KING's Answer.

‘ **I** OWN I was a little surprized that the
 ‘ Affair was not finished at the Expiration of
 ‘ the Time, and before the King your Master
 ‘ set out for *England*. I am satisfied with the
 ‘ Assurances which you now give me from him,
 ‘ that he continues still in the same Intention;
 ‘ and I hope he will always continue to contri-
 ‘ bute all he can with the States. As for me, I
 ‘ am still of the same Mind, and I act with the
 ‘ same Sincerity. I will soon send Monsieur *de*
 ‘ *Tallard* with the necessary Instructions.

Lord *Manchester* thus continues the Account of
 what followed. ‘ When I said, That the Reason
 ‘ the States of *Holland* were not sooner ac-
 ‘ quainted with it, was, that it could not be pro-
 ‘ posed to them, till it was known whether the
 ‘ Imperi-

' Imperialists would come in or no: The King
 ' said, with Warmth, They have had Time
 ' enough given them, and even too much. As
 ' to Count *Tallard*'s having Orders to come away,
 ' the King took no Notice of it, nor that he had
 ' been informed of every Step. Upon my say-
 ' ing, Monsieur *de Tallard* has been informed of
 ' all that has been done in this Affair, and has
 ' even seen all the Letters which Monsieur *Hop*
 ' wrote to the Pensionary; and it being first pro-
 ' posed to the Province of *Holland*, it seemed that
 ' he was satisfied in those Points: I took Occasion
 ' to see if Monsieur *de Bonrepos* had any Orders;
 ' saying, That the King my Master was desirous
 ' that your Majesty might be informed by Mon-
 ' sieur *de Tallard*, or Monsieur *de Bonrepos*, of
 ' all that passes; and even the States will always
 ' have a great regard for all that comes from your
 ' Majesty. The King answered, in this Affair
 ' I confided only in Monsieur *de Tallard*; and I
 ' know very well that the King your Master has
 ' more Credit in *Holland* than I on this Occasion.
 ' When I said, That the King had recommended
 ' it to the Care of the Pensionary, and that we
 ' hoped the Difficulties were such as might be sur-
 ' mounted: The King answered, That he hoped
 ' it also; and that he imagined Somebody should
 ' come from the States into *England*, and that the
 ' Treaty would be signed there. The King ad-
 ' ded, I have it, you know, under the Hands of
 ' the King your Master, as he has it under
 ' mine. Then I said, I have also, Sir, particu-
 ' lar Orders to inform your Majesty from the
 ' King, in what Manner he has kept his Word;
 ' and that, as he has acted on this Occasion with
 ' an open Heart, and all possible Sincerity; so
 ' he will continue to act on all other Occasions,
 ' that may contribute to the strengthening his
 ' Friendship and good Correspondence with your
 ' Majesty. The King answered, You may
 ' assure

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‘ assure the King your Master that I will do the
‘ same.’

Mr. PRIOR returned on the 18th of *November* 1699, N. S. with this Account of the private Audience to *London*. His Lordship’s public Audience was immediately after. He writes thus the Day before Mr. PRIOR set out from *Paris*, and in all Probability by him.

To the Earl of JERSEY.

My Lord,

Paris, Nov. 17, 1699.

‘ I Suppose your Lordship will easily believe I
‘ have but little Time to write, when you
‘ know I am in the *Hôtel des Ambassadeurs*, and
‘ am to have to-morrow my Audience at *Ver-*
‘ *sailles*. Neither do I think it proper to trou-
‘ ble your Lordship with an Account of what has
‘ been done in Obedience to his Majesty’s Com-
‘ mand, since Mr. PRIOR is fully inform’d of all
‘ Proceedings, and what pass’d in my private Au-
‘ dience.----I shall always discharge his Majesty’s
‘ Orders with all the Secrecy and Care imagina-
‘ ble; and I am apt to think this Occasion will
‘ make Monsieur *de Tallard* take care how he
‘ behaves himself; for he was not very easy
‘ when he found Mr. PRIOR was come, and that
‘ I was to have an Audience.’

I am, &c.

MANCHESTER.

His Lordship, as he writes in another Letter to the Earl of *Jersey*, went to *Versailles*, and had his Audience, the same Day that Mr. PRIOR left *Paris*. He then found, that what he had discour- sed in private to the King had its desired Effect; for Monsieur *Tallard*, who had been called home, was ordered to return to *England* the next Week.

‘ Or

‘ On the whole, says his Excellency, I find the
‘ Court impatient * till it is done, by M. *de Tor-*
‘ *cy*’s saying, no Time was to be lost; that the
‘ King of *Spain*’s Life was very uncertain, and
‘ that by the last Account they had heard he was
‘ ill again.’ He adds, ‘ I hope his Majesty ap-
‘ proves of the Account Mr. PRIOR will have
‘ given. I shall continue to obey your Lordship’s
‘ Orders, as becomes, &c.’ —

Soon after he wrote the following.

To Mr. PRIOR.

S I R,

Paris, Nov. 25. 1699.

‘ I SEND you the inclosed, which I took the
‘ Liberty to open, not knowing but there
‘ might be some Directions for me, by reason I
‘ had none by that Post from my Lord *Jersey* nor
‘ Mr. *Yard*. I suppose you will easily excuse it. I
‘ desire you will let my Lord know, that I have
‘ nothing at present to trouble him with. I am im-
‘ patient to know how his Majesty approves of
‘ our Proceedings; and I must put you in mind of
‘ the Catalogue of Books, and also what Method
‘ I must take about the ninety *Louis* that you
‘ had a Note of; for I intend soon to send the
‘ Account of my Extraordinaries. I still continue
‘ to make public Discourses here, having had
‘ my Audience of Madame last Sunday. I went
‘ with five Coaches and all the *English* Gentle-
‘ men, and twenty-four Men in Livery, each of
‘ them carrying a white Flambeau. I am glad
‘ I am coming to a Conclusion of these Vanities,
‘ though I am satisfied it does Service here, and
‘ makes some very uneasy. I am told that one
‘ *Ogilby* went from hence on Sunday last to St.
‘ *Valery*, in order to embark for *England*: That
‘ he was to address himself to my Lord *Drum-*

* Till the Treaty is signed.

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‘ *mond* upon his Arrival at *London*; and after some
 ‘ Stay there, to go to Duke *H*——— with
 ‘ Messages, if not Letters, from the Court of *St.*
 ‘ *Germain*s. It is thought it might be for his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Service to have him seized; but I cannot
 ‘ give any particular Directions where he is to be
 ‘ found. The likeliest Way is by watching my
 ‘ Lord *Drummond*. He has been often employed
 ‘ between *England* and *France* in the late War;
 ‘ so that I presume Matter enough may be found
 ‘ against him. You will acquaint my Lord *Jer-*
 ‘ *sey* of this; which will oblige, &c.’

MANCHESTER.

This was followed by another in about a Fort-
 night after.

To Mr. PRIOR.

S I R,

Paris, Dec. 8, 1699.

‘ I COULD with this Court was so well in-
 ‘ clined as to grant any Favour in relation to
 ‘ the *French* Protestants: But at present I cannot
 ‘ see any Inclination; neither can I hope ever to
 ‘ have such Credit with Monsieur *de Torcy*, as on
 ‘ my own Account to persuade him: If at any time
 ‘ I see a Probability, I shall not fail to act as is de-
 ‘ fired. I have not yet made all my Visits of
 ‘ Ceremony; and this Day I am going to the
 ‘ *Arfenel*. You will be so kind as to make my
 ‘ Excuse to Lord *Jersey*, having nothing at pre-
 ‘ sent to acquaint him with, only that King
 ‘ *JAMES* continues still ill. His Distemper is
 ‘ Boils in his Backside. I do not hear there is
 ‘ much Danger, unless it should turn to a *Fistula*.
 ‘ In a little Time you shall hear more. Monsieur
 ‘ *de Tallard* could not be so soon with you as he
 ‘ intended, because the Wind continued some
 ‘ Days against him, and obliged him to stay at
 ‘ *Calais*. I am glad to hear our Proceedings
 ‘ were

' were approved of, and I am impatient to know
' the Success of that Matter; though it may be
' I shall hear it first from Monsieur *de Torcy*. I
' am, &c.

MANCHESTER.

In a Letter by the same Post, to the Right
Honourable *Charles Montague*, Esq; his Lordship
says,

S I R,

' M R. PRIOR's coming here, and the pri-
' vate Audience I had of the King the
' Day of my Entry, occasioned much Discourse,
' and did me Service with the Ministers; for
' now they see the King does not rely on Mon-
' sieur *de Tallard*.—— King JAMES, upon
' Mr. PRIOR's coming hither, believed I was
' to be recalled, and he to be left here; which
' for some Time, gave him great Satisfaction.
' It is not agreeable to them to see me live in
' such a Manner, that none of the *English* come
' to *Paris* but they address themselves to me,
' &c.

MANCHESTER.

We see here what Reputation our Poet was
in that King JAMES should suspect his being left
Ambassador.

On the 30th of *November*, O. S. Mr. PRIOR
wrote the following to Lord *Manchester*.

My Lord,

Whitehall, Nov. 30,
Dec. 10, 1699.

' M Y Indisposition has been such, and I
' have had so little worth troubling you
' with for these two Posts, that I may easily be
' excused for not having writ. My Lord *Jersey*
' has for these six Days had a Fit of the Gout,
' accompanied with a Fever, which has hardly
' let him stir out of his Bed, and detains him
' at

' at present in a Couch very near it. This is
 ' but too legitimate an Excuse, my Lord for his
 ' not writing to you to-night. Mr. *Yard* tells
 ' you the public News, That a Supply was vot-
 ' ed to-day; which I think to be the best Part
 ' of it: For the rest, Factions and Reflections
 ' go on and prosper as formerly. My Lord
 ' Chancellor is the Man aimed at, and some
 ' Grants he enjoys are the visible Pretext. The
 ' King goes to-morrow to *Hampton-Court*, till
 ' *Saturday* Night. *Macky* waits to know who is
 ' to pay *Roger* the Express's Passage: Your Ex-
 ' cellency will pay it, and it is to be allowed in
 ' your Extraordinaries. For the ninety Pounds
 ' expended, I have not had an Opportunity of
 ' mentioning it, as largely as I would, to Lord
 ' *Jersey*. *Bayley* is to do whatever he can, to
 ' bring over *la Personne dont il s'agit*, and your
 ' Lordship is to give him all Encouragement
 ' and Assistance: Nothing can be properer than
 ' the Method we agreed on at *Paris*. The
 ' *Montagues* are all well; which is all I have to
 ' add to the great Respect, with which I am
 ' ever, &c.'

P R I O R.

' P. S. I am to acknowledge the Receipt of
 ' the last Letter with which your Excellency
 ' honoured me. This Moment Mr. *Powis* comes
 ' in to me. He does not write to your Excel-
 ' lency to-night, but by next Post will rectify a
 ' Mistake committed, as he says, in his last.
 ' *Obrian* is this Evening brought to Town.'

It would be impossible for any one since Mr.
 PRIOR's Death, except a Person as deeply con-
 cerned as he in the Transactions of the Times
 we are upon, to explain all the Secret History
 comprized in the Letters to and from the Earl
 of *Manchester*. Persons and Facts are continual-
 ly spoken of in few Words, some of which are
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never mentioned after; and Mr. PRIOR's Name recurs almost every where, as of a Gentleman in the highest Confidence. Neither the Nature of my Design, nor the Room I have prescribed myself, will permit me to make long Researches. If I furnish Memoirs for those who may hereafter compile a more general History, to supply the Place of what Mr. PRIOR intended, I hope sufficiently to answer the Expectation of my Readers. Some few Remarks however, I shall now and then intersperse, upon those Passages which seem of greatest Consequence. The next letter will require several, besides those at the Bottom of the Page.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord,

Whitehall, Dec. 7, 1699. O. S.

THOUGH I have written to you by my Lord's Order, * that is his Letter; I am to add a Word from myself.

You see by the News, which accompanies this Letter, what was done in both Houses Yesterday. In the Upper-House, the Bishop of St. David's Business † was thrown out; and in the other House, Proceedings in relation to Kidd's Matter came to nothing: So that we gained two Triumphs that Day. *Ob! si sic omnia.* The Commons Address you will observe to be somewhat high; but the Moderation and Wisdom of the King's Answer is thought, even by his Enemies, to be inimitable.

D'Avenant has printed his Book § against Grants, which I take to be a scandalous Libel against the Government: I will send it you

* i. e. The Earl of Jersey.

† Dr. Watson, who was accused of Simony, and afterwards deprived for it.

§ Intituled, *An Essay upon Grants and Resumptions.*

Octavo,

The HISTORY of

‘ when we employ a Messenger ; for I think it
 ‘ would cost you too dear if it came by the
 ‘ Post.

‘ *Smith*, † who was a Sort of Discoverer of
 ‘ the Plot, and printed a Book last Year reflect-
 ‘ ing upon the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, has printed
 ‘ another now to the same Tune. *O Tempora !*
 ‘ *O Mores !* Every Man says and writes wha the
 ‘ will. Next Week I intend to come out myself
 ‘ with a Panegyric upon the King. I am ever,
 ‘ my Lord, with all imaginable Respect, &c.

M. P R I O R.

Story of
Kidd the
 Pirate.

‘ *P. S.* I do not write to *Stanyan* ; for he has
 ‘ not a Park, nor a Doe * in the World: I mean
 ‘ a Doe fit for a Pasty.

The Affair of *Kidd*, the Commons Address
 with his Majesty’s Answer, and Mr. PRIOR’s
 Panegyric on the King, are three Particulars in
 this Letter that deserve to be a little enlarged
 on.

† In the Characters of the *English* and *Scots* Nobility,
 drawn up at the Request of the Princess *Sophia*, by *John*
Macky, Esq; which were publish’d by his Son, 1733. Oc-
 tavo, in the Character of Lord *Peterborough*, p. 64. is this
 remarkable Paragraph, viz.

“ His promising Sir *John Fenwick* his Life, if he would
 “ accuse the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Orford*, to
 “ have a Design to bring in King *JAMES*; and his writing
 “ a Book, by the Assistance of Dr. *D’Avenant*, and putt-
 “ ing one *Smith*’s Name to it, against that Duke, lost
 “ him with all honest Men; the House of Commons
 “ having voted the One a scurrilous Design to make a Dif-
 “ ference between the King and his best Friends; and the
 “ House of Peers having order’d the Second to be burnt by
 “ the Hands of the common Hangman.”

This Book was intitled, *Memoirs of Secret Service*. By
Matthew Smith, of the Inner-Temple, Esq; Octavo, 1699.

* Mr. PRIOR is waggish here. These Gentlemen called
 their Mistresses their Does.

I. Some

1. Some Pirates had got together, in the *Indian Seas*, and robbed several of the *Mogul's* Ships, in particular one, which he was sending with Presents to *Mocha*. Most of these Pirates were *Englsh*. The *East India* Company having represented the Danger of the *Mogul's* taking Reprisals, it appeared that there was a Necessity of destroying these Pirates, who harboured in some Creek in *Madagascar*. A Man of War was accordingly sent out to destroy them, and *William Kidd*, who knew their Haunts, was pitch'd upon to command it. But as there was not a Fund to bear the Charge of this, because the Money granted for Sea Service was already appropriated; the King proposed the Management of it by a private Undertaking. Chancellor *Somers*, the Lord *Orford*, *Romney*, *Bellamont*, and some others, contributed the whole Expence. The Chancellor understood nothing of the Matter, and left the whole Management of it to the Rest: Only he thought it became the Post he was in to concur in such a public Service. The Undertakers had a Grant of all that should be taken from the Pirates. This gave a Handle for Complaint; for as it was unlawful to take the Goods of any Offender, before Conviction; so a Parity between that Case and this was urged. But in fact the Complaint was groundless, the Provisions of Law being different in the case of Pirates, and that of other Offenders; because as the former cannot be attacked but in a Way of War, the Captors ought, according to the Laws of War, to have a Right to all they find in the Enemy's Hands.

However when *Kidd* was sent out, he turned Pirate himself; which occasioned a heavy Load to be cast on the Ministry, but chiefly on him who was at the Head of it. The Privateer, it was insinuated, would not have turned Pirate, but in Confidence of their Protection who employed him. So that an Undertaking, which

was not only innocent but meritorious, was introduced as a Design for Robbery and Piracy. This was urged in the House of Commons, as an Affair highly criminal, for which all concerned in it ought to be disgraced. A Question was thereupon put, but rejected by a great Majority. This was the Business of which Mr. PRIOR here speaks, who, as well as the Nobleman he wrote to, was highly concerned at the Tempest which seemed to threaten Lord Somers. But though it passed over at present, it was afterwards made one of the Articles in his Lordship's Impeachment, as we shall observe in another Place.

Kidd himself was taken in *New England* some Time after (whither he was retiring with his Booty) by Lord *Bellamont* the Governor, one of his Proprietors; and being sent to *England*, was tried at a Session of Admiralty in the *Old-Baily*, and condemned and executed for Murder and Piracy. But his Trial and Execution were not till long after his Arrival: For the House of Commons addressed his Majesty, that he might be kept till next Session of Parliament, in hopes to get something from him against the Lords above-mentioned: Which they not being able to do, he was given up to Justice.

2. The Commons in their Address, which Mr. PRIOR tells Lord *Manchester* he will observe to be somewhat high, set forth, ' That nothing
' being more necessary for the Peace and Welfare of this Kingdom, the quieting the Minds
' of the People, and disappointing the Designs
' of his Enemies, than a mutual and entire Confidence between his Majesty and his Parliament; they did esteem it their greatest Misfortune, that after having so amply provided for
' the Security of his Majesty and his Government, both by Sea and Land, any Jealousy or
' Difficulty had been raised of their Duty and
' Affection to his sacred Majesty and his People.
They

They beg Leave 'humbly to represent to his Majesty, that it would greatly conduce to the continuing and establishing an entire Confidence between his Majesty and his Parliament, that he would be pleased to shew Marks of his high Displeasure towards all such Persons who had or should presume to misrepresent their Proceedings to his Majesty: And that the Commons, having likewise a due Sense of the great Care and Concern his Majesty had always expressed for preserving and maintaining the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of his People (in Defence of which his Majesty had so often exposed his Royal Person) would use their utmost Care and Endeavours to prevent and discourage all false Rumours and Reports, reflecting upon his Majesty and his Government, whereby to create any Misunderstanding between him and his Subjects.'

The 'moderate and wise Answer,' returned by his Majesty, was as follows.

GENTLEMEN,

'MY Parliament have done so great Things for me, and I have, upon all proper Occasions, expressed so great a Sense of their Kindness, and my opinion has been so often declared, that the Happiness of an *English* King depends upon an entire good Correspondence between him and his Parliament, that it cannot seem strange for me to assure you, that no Persons have yet dared to go about to misrepresent to me the Proceedings of either House. Had I found any such, they would have immediately felt the highest Marks of my Displeasure. It is a Justice I owe not only to my Parliament, but to every one of my Subjects, to judge of them by their Actions; and this Rule I will steadily pursue. If any hereafter shall attempt to put me on other Me-

The HISTORY of

‘ thods, by Calumnies or Misrepresentations, they
 ‘ will not only fail of Success, but shall be look’d
 ‘ upon and treated by me as my worst Enemies.’

GENTLEMEN,

‘ I am pleas’d to see, by your Address, that
 ‘ you have the same Thoughts of the great Advan-
 ‘ tages which will ensue to this Kingdom by
 ‘ our mutual Confidence, as I express’d to both
 ‘ Houses, at the Opening of this Session. I take
 ‘ very kindly the Assurance you give me of using
 ‘ your utmost Care and Endeavours, to prevent
 ‘ and discourage all false Rumours and Reports,
 ‘ reflecting upon Me, and my Government;
 ‘ and I faithfully promise you, that no Actions
 ‘ of mine shall give a just Ground for any Mis-
 ‘ understanding between me and my People.’

3. Mr. PRIOR’S Panegyric upon the King, which he was to publish the next Week after writing this Letter, was his famous *Carmen Seculare*; a Poem which many Judges, for very good Reasons, have pronounced the most sublime of all his Writings. *Horace’s* Ode with the same Title, though undoubtedly it was in some Sense our Poet’s Model, must be acknowledged to be far inferior to it in true Grandeur of Thought, and Variety of Images.

How does the Character of his Hero rise under his Hand, and obscure the Lustre of all the great Names in ancient and modern Story, whose Virtues and Faults he has strongly painted in a few bold and significant Lines!

The Son * of MARS reduced the trembling Swains,
 And spread his Empire o’er the distant Plains:
 But yet the SABINES violated Charms
 Obscur’d the Glory of his rising Arms.

* *Romulus.*

NUMA

NUMA the Rights of strict Religion knew;
On ev'ry Altar laid the Incense due;

Unskill'd to dart the pointed Spear,
Or lead the forward Youth to noble War.
Stern BRUTUS was with too much Horror good,
Holding his *Fasces* stain'd with Filial Blood.

FABIUS was wise, but with Excess of Care:
He sav'd his Country; but prolong'd the War.
While DECIUS, PAULUS, CURIUS, greatly
fought,

And by their strict Examples taught,
How wild Desires should be controll'd,
And how much brighter Virtue was, than Gold;
They scarce their swelling Thirst of Fame could
hide,

And boasted Poverty with too much Pride.
Excess in Youth made SCIPIO less rever'd:
And CATO, dying, seem'd to own, he fear'd.
JULIUS with Honour tam'd ROME's foreign
Foes:

But Patriots fell, e're the Dictator rose.
And while with Clemency AUGUSTUS reign'd;
The Monarch was ador'd; the City chain'd.

* * * * *

Turn then to PHARAMOND, and CHARLE-
MAIN,

And the long Heroes of the GALLICK Strain;
Experienc'd Chiefs, for hardy Prowess known,
And bloody Wreaths in vent'rous Battles won.
From the first WILLIAM, our great NORMAN
King,

The bold PLANTAGENETS, and TUDORS bring;
Illustrious Virtues, who by turns have rose,
In foreign Fields to check BRITANNIA's Foes:
With happy Laws her Empire to sustain;
And with full Power assert her ambient Main:
But sometimes too industrious to be great,
Nor patient to expect the Turns of Fate,
They open'd Camps deform'd by civil Fight;
And made proud Conquest trample over Right:

The HISTORY of

Disparted BRITAIN mourn'd their doubtful
Sway ;
And dreaded both, when neither wou'd obey.

From DIDIER and Imperial ADOLPH trace
The glorious Offspring of the NASSAW Race,
Devoted Lives to publick Liberty ;
The Chief still dying, or the Country free.
Then see the kindred Blood of ORANGE flow,
From warlike CORNET thro' the Loins of BEAU ;
Thro' CHALON next ; and there with NASSAW
join,
From RHONE's fair Banks transplanted to the
RHINE.

Bring next the Royal List of STUARTS forth,
Undaunted Minds, that rul'd the rugged North ;
'Till Heav'n's Decrees by rip'ning Times are
shown ;
'Till Scotland's Kings ascend the *English*
Throne ;
And the fair Rivals live for ever One.

JANUS, mighty Deity,
Be kind ; and as thy searching Eye
Does our Modern Story trace,
Finding some of STUART's Race
Unhappy, pass their Annals by :
No harsh Reflection let Remembrance raise ;
Forbear to mention, what thou canst not
praise :

* * * * *

Whether wouldst thou further look ?
Read WILLIAM's Acts, and close the ample
Book ;
Peruse the Wonders of his dawning Life ;
How, like ALCIDES, he began ;
With Infant Patience calm'd seditious Strife,
And quell'd the Snakes which round his Cradle
ran.

Describe his Youth, attentive to Alarms,
By Dangers form'd, and perfected in Arms :
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When conqu'ring, mild; when conquer'd, not
disgrac'd;

By Wrongs not lessen'd, nor by Triumphs rais'd:
Superior to the blind Events
Of little human Accidents;
And constant to his first Decree,
To curb the Proud, to set the injur'd free,
To bow the haughty Neck, and raise the sup-
pliant Knee.

His opening Years to riper Manhood bring;
And see the Hero perfect in the King:
Imperious Arms by manly Reason sway'd,
And Power supreme by free Consent obey'd:
With how much Haste his Mercy meets his
Foes;

And how unbounded his Forgiveness flows:
With what Desire he makes his Subjects bless'd,
His Favours granted ere his Throne address'd.
What Trophies o'er our captiv'd Hearts he rears,
By Arts of Peace more potent than by Wars:
How o'er himself, as o'er the World he reigns,
His Morals strengthening, what his Law ordains.

Through all his Thread of Life already spun,
Becoming Grace and proper Action run:

The Piece by Virtue's equal Hand is wrought,
Mix'd with no Crime, and shaded with no Fault:

No Footsteps of the Victor's Rage

Left in the Camp, where WILLIAM did engage:

No Tincture of the Monarch's Pride

Upon the Royal Purple spy'd:

His Fame, like Gold, the more 'tis try'd,

The more shall its intrinsic Worth proclaim;

Shall pass the Combat of the searching Flame,

And triumph o'er the vanquished Heat,

For ever coming out the same,

And losing nor its Lustre, nor its Weight.

The Arts of Verification are no where more
happily employed, than in the following curious
Stanza.

The HISTORY of

Science to raise, and Knowledge to enlarge,
 Be our great Master's future Charge;
 To write his own Memoirs, and leave his Heirs
 High Schemes of Government, and Plans of
 Wars;

By fair Rewards our noble Youth to raise
 To emulous Merit, and to Thirst of Praise;
 To lead them out from Ease ere opening Dawn,
 Through the thick Forest and the distant Lawn,
 Where the fleet Stag employs their ardent Care;
 And Chases give them Images of War.
 To teach them Vigilance by false Alarms;
 Inure them in feign'd Camps to real Arms;
 Practise them now to curb the turning Steed,
 Mocking the Foe; now to his rapid Speed
 To give the Rein; and in the full Career,
 To draw the certain Sword, or send the pointed
 Spear.

I will mention but one Passage more; for to
 point out all the Beauties in this Ode, I must
 insert the whole. It is where he shadows out the
 Power of a Tyrant under the Image of a Co-
 met, and compares that of his Sovereign to the
 regular Light of the Sun.

Thro' the large Convex of the Azure Sky
 (For thither Nature casts our common Eye)
 Fierce Meteors shoot their arbitrary Light,
 And Comets march with lawless Horror bright:
 Those hear no Rule, no righteous Order own;
 Their Influence dreaded, as their Ways unknown:
 Thro' threatn'd Lands they wild Destruction
 throw;

'Till ardent Prayer averts the publick Woe:
 But the bright Orb that blesses all above,
 The sacred Fire the real Son of Jove,
 Rules not his Actions by capricious Will,
 Nor by ungovern'd Power declines to Ill:
 Fix'd by just Laws, he goes for-ever right;
 Man knows his Course, and thence adores his
 Light.

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But to return to our Correspondence. We find that Lord *Manchester* was extremely watchful over King *JAMES's* Court, and procured Intelligence of almost every Person that went from *England* to *St. Germain's*. There are many Instances of this in his Letters, of which I will here insert one from a Letter to Lord *Jersey*, dated *December 23, 1699*, because it mentions our Poet.

' Mr. PRIOR may remember, that I talked to him, when he was here last, about taking up one *Claude*, a *Frenchman*, as he says he is, who served the late Lord *B——I*, in order to exchange him for *Pierre Perault*, or *Arnold*. If your Lordship be of that Mind, he is almost every Day at the *Dog-Tavern* in *Drury-Lane*; and *Couchman*, the Messenger, will be a proper Person to apprehend him, because he was acquainted with him when he was at *Paris*. This *Claude* was much at *St. Germain's*, while he staid in *France*, and endeavoured to seduce several *English* thither. But that which will be a better Reason for seizing him, is his having attended *Richardson*, one of the Assassins, while he was concealed in the late Lord *B——I's* House; which, I am told, he bragged of when he was here last.'

His Lordship was also very careful, continually to transmit fresh Accounts of the State of King *JAMES's* Health, who was a long Time afflicted with a dangerous Disorder near his Fundament, which at last proved the Occasion of his Death. He writes thus to Mr. PRIOR.

S I R,

Paris, Jan. 2, 1700.

' HAVING writ so lately, by Mr. *Stanhope*, to the Earl of *Jersey*, I do not trouble him now. I must desire you to make my Excuse, and acquaint him with the Con-

tents

The HISTORY of

‘ tents of this. There is nothing at present acting
 ‘ at *St. Germans*, King JAMES being not well,
 ‘ and giving himself wholly up to Devotions and
 ‘ Prayers. The Wound, which was very large,
 ‘ is healed ; but it is thought they have done it
 ‘ too soon, because the same Humours run all o-
 ‘ ver his Body, sometimes in his Stomach, Legs,
 ‘ &c. He is extremely broke, and most Men are
 ‘ of Opinion he cannot recover, tho’ he may go
 ‘ on some time as he is. Father *Cosmo* is run away
 ‘ with fifty thousand Livres, which he had in
 ‘ his Hands, and which he was to distribute a-
 ‘ mong the *Irish*. They think he may be gone
 ‘ for *England*, since he cannot be safe in any other
 ‘ Place. If I learn any thing of him you shall hear
 ‘ from me : Nevertheless, it may not be improper
 ‘ to make some Enquiry after him ; and you will
 ‘ find by my former Accounts, where his Ac-
 ‘ quaintance live in *London*. I was Yesterday at
 ‘ *Versailles*, where I made a Compliment to the
 ‘ King and the rest of the Court, it being *New-*
 ‘ *Year’s-Day*. I dined with Monsieur *de Boufflers*.
 ‘ I find them all very civil ; but how long it will
 ‘ last you can best judge. I wonder my Servant
 ‘ has not been with you ; the Buck-Season must
 ‘ make it up. We want two Posts, having had
 ‘ no Letters since the 31st of *December* last.’ I am,
 ‘ &c.

MANCHESTER.

Father *Cosmo*, as we learn from his Lordship’s
 Letter of *Jan. 13*, to the Earl of *Ferfey*, was a
 Scotch Priest, whose right Name was *Clark*. ‘ I
 ‘ hear, says he, that he has got to *Leyden* in *Hol-*
 ‘ *land*, where I presume it may not be difficult
 ‘ for his Majesty to get him seized, since it is cer-
 ‘ tain that he had a great Share in the late King’s
 ‘ Confidence in several Matters. I am in hopes
 ‘ he may be more easy in making an ingenuous
 ‘ Confession, because he can have no farther Pro-
 ‘ spect

'spect of Advantage this Way, after having
'cheated them so grossly; at least when he is once
'in Custody, it will be no hard Matter to extort
'the Truth from him. He is a very tall Man,
'long-visaged, has a high *Roman* Nose, with a
'fresh Complexion, which, 'tis said here, he
'painted, and is about thirty-eight Years of Age.
'I believe Mr. PRIOR has seen him, and can
'describe him more exactly.' And in another, a
Fortnight after, his Lordship says, 'They had that
'Confidence in *Cosmo, alias Clark*, that the Duke
'of *Berwick* lent him his Calash, thinking he
'would return the same Day: But he went with
'it to *Leyden*, and since that [they hear he is at
'*Amsterdam*. He knows the whole Proceedings
'of that Court; so that if he could be taken, he
'would probably confess all, there being no Pro-
'spect for him to return hither.—— Mr. *
'*Minnis*, who went from hence in *August* last,
'corresponds with Lord *Middleton*, as also one
'*Netherville*. I believe Mr. PRIOR knows them
'both.'

One of the principal Facts mentioned in Mr.
PRIOR's next Letter to the Earl of *Manche-*
ster, has been before taken notice of, in Page
79.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord,

Whitehall, Jan. 18. 1700. O. S.

'WE have this Morning two Posts from
'*France*, of the 20th and 23d. My
'Lord *Jersey* commands me to acknowledge
'your Letter to him; and to tell you, that the
'House of Lords sitting so late, and he being o-
'bliged, after its rising to go to *Kensington*, is the
'Reason why he does not write to you. You
'will see by the Inclosed, what a Day's Work
'has been performed in the House of Commons;
'the *Irish* Grants to be re-assumed, and not even
'the third Part of them to be reserved to the
'King;

‘ King ; and the Ministry, some of our Friends
 ‘ particularly, meaned and aimed at in the latter
 ‘ Part of their Vote. This all comes like a Tor-
 ‘ rent ; and the few that would cannot. In the
 ‘ House of Lords, the King is a little more civilly
 ‘ used. As to the Business of *Darien*, his Ma-
 ‘ jesty is at least justified in his Letters to the Go-
 ‘ vernors of the Plantations. Thus we are, my
 ‘ good Lord, scrambling, and doing our best on
 ‘ one Side against the other, who are very trouble-
 ‘ some, not to say dangerous.

‘ We hear of the Complaints you make from
 ‘ Monsieur *de Tallard*, and prepare to redress
 ‘ them as well as we can. As to the Persons
 ‘ mentioned in your Letter, Care will be taken.

‘ The King has not yet seen Lord *Bazil*, or
 ‘ any Address from him. I do not hear that
 ‘ this Lord’s Countrymen are quieter. I know
 ‘ not how far your House’s Resolution of to-
 ‘ day will go towards calming them. I am
 ‘ ever, &c.

M. PRIOR.

Tho’ Mr. PRIOR at this Time was not either
 Secretary of State or Ambassador, yet it seems as
 if neither of those Ministers had so much Know-
 ledge as himself of the most private Affairs. A
 certain Person often mentioned under the Di-
 stinction of *la Personne dont il s’agit*, who was to
 give some signal Light into the Transactions then
 on foot, appears to have been referred, at first,
 almost entirely to Mr. PRIOR’s Direction. Lord
Jersey says, in a Letter to the Earl of *Manche-*
ster, That ‘ he did not find the King willing to be
 ‘ at a great Expence about the *Personne dont il*
 ‘ *s’agit*, without some Assurance of the Service he
 ‘ could do: That Mr. PRIOR had been ill, which
 ‘ was the Reason he could not know of him
 ‘ in what this Person could be most useful. In
 ‘ the mean Time he desired his Lordship to keep
 ‘ this Matter on foot, and let him know his Opi-
 ‘ nion,

nion, as to the Expence and Advantage they might have by it.' To which the Earl of Manchester gave this Answer. ' I desire to know his Majesty's Directions in regard to *la Personne dont il s'agit*. Being informed where he was at Paris, I thought it proper to bring this Matter to a Conclusion, and that Mr. Stanyan should write to desire to speak with him; which accordingly he did, and the Person consented to meet him. The Proposal that was made to him was, that in case he would go for *England*, and declare the Truth of all he knew, and even give Evidence, in case there was any Occasion, and serve the King and Government to the best of his Power, I had Orders to assure him of His Majesty's Pardon, and that he and his Family should be taken care of, he having also a Wife and Children. He seemed to embrace this Proposal very well; saying, wheresoever he engaged, he would be zealous in their Service: That for *St. Germain's*, he had served them faithfully; but thought, that after the Usage he had met with, he had no farther Obligation: But still insisted, that he did not know how to bring himself to give public Evidence in a Court. Mr. Stanyan gave him such Reasons, that this Matter is over with him. They have met since, and the only Difference that now remains, is, that he insists to be at a Certainty, and to know what will be allowed him, and he seems to desire a Sum of Money, rather than so much yearly. Mr. Stanyan endeavoured to know what he expected, but could not prevail with him to name any Thing; saying, his Demands might be such, that I should not think proper to write or propose them. Mr. Stanyan said, he thought, that tho' it might not be granted, yet he hoped I would write; for that he could not engage in this Matter, unless he was certain of what he might depend on. Mr. Stanyan is of Opinion, that he is sincere, and may be of

The HISTORY of

‘ of great Service : But nothing can be done with
 ‘ him, unless I propose something of this Nature.
 ‘ Therefore, if your Lordship will let me know
 ‘ the King’s Pleasure, how much I may offer,
 ‘ and in what Manner ; I will do it in the best
 ‘ Way I can for his Majesty’s Service :’ His Ex-
 ‘ cellency says in the same Letter, that ‘ he had en-
 ‘ closed a Paper for Mr. PRIOR, concerning some
 ‘ Things at *Paris*.

“ To this Lord *Jersey* reply’d, that having re-
 ceived his Lordship’s, which had been acknow-
 ledged by Mr, PRIOR, ‘ He had laid the Sub-
 ‘ stance of them before his Majesty, That as to
 ‘ *la Personne*, the King would give him a Pardon ;
 ‘ and for his Encouragement, Lord *Manchester*
 ‘ might offer him as far as four or five hundred
 ‘ Pounds, and a Pension of three Pounds a Week :
 ‘ That this would answer all Objections he could
 ‘ make, and be sufficient to gain him, provided
 ‘ there were a fair Intention on his Side ; for he
 ‘ might be sure to be subsisted according to what
 ‘ he should discover : That upon this Intimation
 ‘ his Lordship might proceed, as he saw the
 ‘ Thing appear upon further Discourse.’

It is in the following Letter, that Mr. PRIOR
 acknowledges the Receipt of Lord *Manchester*’s
 above referr’d to. But the most remarkable Part
 of it, is the honest Concern he expresses for the
 furious Attack that was expected upon the great
 Lord *Somers*. Never was Servant more faithful,
 nor Friend more sincere and hearty than he,
 to all who merited his real Esteem. We shall dis-
 cover more of the same Nature in other Letters.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord,

Whitehall, Feb. $\frac{12}{23}$. 1700.

‘ MY Lord *Jersey* gives me in Charge to own
 ‘ the Receipt of your Letters, of the 16th
 ‘ and 17th, the Substance of which my Lord
 ‘ will

'will lay before his Majesty the first Opportunity.

'If you hear no more of the great Affair, it is because nothing is transacted in it farther than when your Excellency was last advised of it; consequently *Roger* is not yet dispatched,

'I must congratulate your Happiness, that you are out of this Noise and Tumult, where we are tearing and destroying every Man his Neighbour. To-morrow is the great Day when we expect that my Lord Chancellor will be fallen upon; though God knows what Crime he is guilty of, but that of being a very great Man, and a wise and upright Judge. Lord *Bellamont*, you will read in the Votes, was fallen upon to-day; thus every Day a Minister, till at last we reach the King. By next Post I shall, I presume, be able to write to you what relates to Matters on your Side: I am heartily tired with them on our Side.'

I am, &c.

M. P R I O R.

'The Great Affair mentioned again in Mr. PRIOR's next Letter, of which Count *Tallard* was to give an Account, seems to be the concluding some private Treaty, in all Probability the second Partition.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord,

Whitehall, Feb. 22, 1700. O. S.

'I HAVE no particular Commands from your Lordship; so can only acknowledge the Receipt of the *French* Letters of the 24th and 27th. The great Affair was transacted this Morning, though I believe Count *Tallard* will not be able to send an Express away these two or three Days. My Lord *Jersey* still keeps his Bed, his Gout had

‘ had a Fever which accompanied it ; but, God
 ‘ be thanked, both those Distempers abate, and
 ‘ I hope by next Post he will tell you so in his own
 ‘ Hand. In the mean Time, we take what Care
 ‘ we can about the Contents of your last Letter
 ‘ to my Lord ; tho’, God knows, all the Care
 ‘ we take signifies little, considering how we are
 ‘ restrained as to the taking any Body, though
 ‘ the Informations given make it highly necessary
 ‘ for the public Good : But you know *England*
 ‘ well enough in this Point, my Lord.

‘ The Speaker’s Illness gives the House of
 ‘ Commons leave to play till *Monday*. The Ad-
 ‘ dress they presented Yesterday to the King, he
 ‘ answered very civilly, but smartly : I have not
 ‘ yet the Words, but shall send them with the
 ‘ first. The Sense was, That he was sensible the
 ‘ Nation lay under great Taxes ; that he had and
 ‘ would contribute to the easing them by every
 ‘ Way which was just ; that he thought he had
 ‘ the Power of gratifying some who had been
 ‘ actually in the Reduction of *Ireland*, out of
 ‘ what was his.

‘ I had written your Lordship a long politic
 ‘ Letter, for I thought that *Roger* would have been
 ‘ dispatched to you ; but since there are no Parti-
 ‘ cularities in the Affair I have spoke of, I have
 ‘ sent Word to Mr. *Woolaston*, that *Roger* may
 ‘ stay to go over with the Midwife for my Lady :
 ‘ *Quod felix Faustumque sit*, &c.

‘ If I might speak my particular Sentiments
 ‘ concerning *la Personne dont il s’agit*, I would
 ‘ have him well sifted, and tried if he means to
 ‘ act in earnest, and is really disposed to the
 ‘ Thing ; otherwise we may be bantered, to say
 ‘ no worse of it : But this is only to yourself,
 ‘ my Lord, and from him who is eternally,
 ‘ with great Respect, &c.

M. PRIOR

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His Excellency acknowledged the Receipt of of this, in one a few Days after to Lord *Jersey*, wherein he expresses his Concern at his Lordship's Illness. And then speaking of some Affairs that were then transacting at the *French Court*, about the Principality of *Orange*, he says, 'The Account of this I suppose your Lordship will have received from Mr. PRIOR, whom I acquainted with it by Mr. *Stanyan*, having been of late out of Order.'

His being a publick Minister, and employed in the most weighty Affairs, did not make Mr. PRIOR forget his Relation to the Seat of the Muses, the University of *Cambridge*, of which he was a Fellow, and where he was this Year created Master of Arts by *Mandamus*, * fourteen Years after he had taken his Batchelor's Degree. He speaks of the University as if it had been his constant Residence, and one would take him rather for the Master of a College, who had no other Concerns but those of Learning, than for a Gentleman immersed in national Business, with whom literary Affairs could have but a second Place.

1700.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord,

April 1, 1700. O. S.

'FOR above these two Months past, I have not had an Opportunity of sending over a *Horace*, which we printed at *Cambridge*, and which my Lord Duke of *Somerset*, our Chancellor, presents to the King of *France*'s Library, with a Letter which his Grace writes on that Subject to the Abbè de *Louvois*: but I have at last sent them by a Footman who quitted my Service. The Book and Letter will be, or are already, delivered to Mr. *Stanyan*, and the Favour we beg of your Excellency is, that you would

* He took his Degree of Batchelor in 1686.

'honour

* honour this Book with a Word, by which the
 ' Court of *France*, and particularly the Archbi-
 ' shop of *Rheims* and Abbé *Louvois* may take no-
 ' tice, that the University of *Cambridge* would
 ' establish a fair Correspondence with the Learn-
 ' ed on your Side. By next Post, I shall write
 ' something to the *Soubibliothecaire*, * Monsieur
 ' *Clermont*, concerning the *Greek* Cyphers we
 ' would buy of them: In this I must likewise de-
 ' sire your Lordship's good Offices, since without
 ' your appearing to be concerned in it, we shall
 ' hardly make our Matters bear as we desire.
 ' Monsieur *Friebergen* came on *Friday*. I have
 ' not yet seen him. I am, &c.

M. PRIOR.

The two next Letters contain a very brief,
 but affectionate Account of the Disputes then
 subsisting in Parliamént, of which we have before
 taken some † notice, and which ended in the Fall
 of those great Men who were levelled at by the
 Party against the Court.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord,

Whitehall, April 10, 1700. O. S.

' HAVING written for my Master, I have
 ' little to add for myself; except that I am
 ' very glad my || Lord *Mandeville* is come to Town,
 ' and hope he will stay long with us. I am glad
 ' he was born at *Paris*, for had he been born
 ' here, he would have liked living among us so
 ' little, that I question whether he would have
 ' thought it worth his while to have sucked. The
 ' Votes of to-day pretty well explain what I mean.
 ' God knows how the Business will turn, or where
 ' this Violence of the House of Commons will

* Under-Librarian.
 Earl of *Manchester*'s Son.

† See Page 39.

|| The
 ' end

* Sir A
 † Mr.

' end. The Lords seem as yet to adhere to their
' Point: On *Wednesday* we expect the Issue of all this.
' *Seymour* * plainly said to-day, that the Original
' of all this proceeded from the Ministers, and
' from the chief of them, the Chancellor. Many
' other angry Sayings of this kind have been
' vented; and in the Heat of this Hurry *Kidd* is
' arrived, and sent up for, with his Papers, by an
' Order from the Admiralty. Our Friend † has
' said nothing of late in the House of Commons.
' My Lord Chancellor is very sick. This is the
' *Abbrege* of our Case, I think no very good one.
' I am going to *Kensington* the Moment after I
' have told you that I am, &c.

M. P R I O R.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Whitehall, April 11, 1700. O. S.*

' OUR long Session is this Day, God be
' thanked, finished; the *Irisb* Grants re-
' sumed, and the Commons satisfied, at least for
' some Time. Yesterday was indeed a great
' Crisis, from the Morning, when it was doubtful
' if the Lords would adhere to their Amendments
' or no. The Commons fell directly upon im-
' peaching. The Persons they named were my
' Lords *Portland* and *Albemarle*; the Articles
' upon which they were going, for procuring for
' themselves exorbitant Grants. In this State
' the Affair lasted till after the second Confe-
' rence with the Lords; and immediately upon
' the Managers returning from the Conference,
' the House, though they thought the Lords
' would recede, locked themselves up till ten at
' Night, of which you see the good Effects in the
' Votes. They threw Fire about at every Body,

* *Sir Edward Seymour.*

† *Mr. Montague, late Earl of Halifax.*

' had

' had a great Mind to fling at our Friend *Charles* :
 ' You see what they would have done to my
 ' Lord Chancellor, and how Duke *Scomberg*, and
 ' Lord *Portland* suffer in their Address, that
 ' Strangers shall not be Privy-Councillors. God
 ' knows whither this Heat would have gone, if
 ' it had not been timely dispatched by every
 ' Body's striving to come in ; so this Bill passed :
 ' Upon the Main, we have Life for six Months
 ' longer, and * *alors comme alors*.

' The Affair upon which I came into *France*,
 ' will be quite ended to-night. Your Lordship
 ' will pretend, in any Discourse you may have
 ' on that Subject, to think it was quite ended
 ' three Weeks since, or at least, that you heard
 ' nothing to the contrary. I hope my Lord
 ' *Mandeville* is well, and his beautiful Mother,
 ' whom the *French* Ladies will talk to Death,
 ' unless you get your Doors locked up, like those
 ' of the House of Commons.

' My Lord commands me to acknowledge
 ' yours of the 17th, and says, the perpetual
 ' Hurry in which we have been, must serve for
 ' a Reason that as yet he has not spoke to the
 ' King to be your Gossip : But this, my Lord
 ' says, is a Favour which he doubts not but the
 ' King will grant, and he will tell you so him-
 ' self next Post.

I am, &c.

M. P R I O R.

As soon as Business would permit, Mr. PRIOR
 falls again upon his *Horace* and his *Greek* Types.
 It was, no doubt, the most agreeable Part of his
 Life, when he could appear as the Gentleman
 and the Scholar, rather than as the Statesman.
 His mixing every where so much of the two
 former Characters, even when he writes in the

* Then we shall see what must be done,

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latter, is a sufficient Evidence of this Truth. Lord *Manchester's* Answer to the next Letter is also very polite, and immediately follows it.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord,

Whitehall, April 18, 1700. O. S.

OUR Parliament Affairs being at length finished, we have a little Time to think on our private Devoirs. I must therefore beg your Excellency (if you have not done it already) to give the *Horace*, and the Duke of *Somerset's* Letter, to *Abbe de Louvois*, making the Archbishop of *Rheims* acquainted with the Duke's Present, and the Desire we have to correspond with the learned at *Paris*. I have written to Mr. *Clermont* what the University desires, as to the procuring us some *Greek* Types. If your Excellency expends the Money, and are pleased to draw upon me, I will answer the Bills: I should be glad they could be got ready soon. I should not dare to trouble your Excellency, but that your Protection to the University is absolutely necessary on this Occasion.

His Majesty goes to-morrow to *Hampton-Court*, and will stay there, we say, these six Weeks. At the End of a Session of Parliament, you know, we always talk of a Change in the Ministry. We do so at present, but upon what Ground I know not.

I am, &c.

M. P R I O R.

To

The HISTORY of

To Mr. PRIOR.

S I R,

Paris. May 5. 1700.

THE Court being at *Marly*, Monsieur *de Torcy* will not be in Town till to-morrow; so I must make my Excuse to my Lord *Fersey* by you, for my not writing. My Wife lays all the Fault on you, that we have not yet heard, if we may give the Little-one the King's Name, and I dare not venture without knowing that positively: So that, at present, you are a little out of Favour, and will be so unless we hear by the next Letters.

I shall do all I can to serve the University, and shall take care about the *Horace*, when I have it. Mr. *Stanyan* will acquaint you how that Matter stands, and how this Book is seized at *Diepe*. I have not seen the Archbishop of *Rheims* for some Time, and I believe he is gone to his Diocese.

Several of the great Men here will dine with me to-morrow, and among them the *Mareschal de Villeroy*. He will certainly ask after you, as he often does. The little Hopes our Friends at St. *Germain*s have left, is in *Scotland*, and if that fails, all Things will be quiet till the next Meeting of the Parliament. I think instead of a Change in the Ministers, we should have a new Parliament; that would be more for the King's Service. Not much Good can be expected from a last Session. We hear the King intends to go for *Holland* next Summer. When that is certain, pray let me know it, which will oblige, &c.

MANCHESTER.

The Earl seems to have been very solicitous about getting his Majesty to be his Son's God-father:

father: But by what appears in the foregoing, it was chiefly to humour his Lady, who might be fond of that Honour. He writes again on that Head to Lord *Jersy*, telling him, that ' he was ' in hopes to have heard, by his Lordship's last ' Letter, that his Majesty would do him the Honour to christen his Son: But he feared the ' great Hurry his Lordship had been in, had prevented his Speaking: That he should stay till ' the next Post, and then take the Liberty to give ' him the King's Name; since, by Mr. PRIOR's, ' his Lordship seemed to think that Favour would ' not be denied him.'

Before Mr. PRIOR's next Letter, Lord *Somers* was actually removed, as we learn from his mentioning the supposed Offer of his Place to Lord Chief Justice *Holt*. His Majesty, finding there was still a strong Party among the Commons against that able and faithful Minister, tho' the Majority was still warm in his Defence, was pleased to take the great Seal from him, and gave it to Sir *Nathan Wright*, a Man in no Sense equal to his illustrious Predecessor. This tame Submission of the King to the Violence of a Minority, against a Person of such Eminence and Credit, was thought to be the Occasion of his losing many Friends; as was also his unalienable Attachment to the Earl of *Albemarle*, the then Favourite, whom, to the general Disgust of the Nobility, he created a Knight of the Garter.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, Hampton-Court, May 2, 1700. O. S.

I AM to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter of the 8th. I do not believe there will be Occasion for *Roger's* Stay. As the Affair of Sir *William*, &c. has gone through the Hands of the Church, so it is convenient that it should so continue: And as to the Great Affair,

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fair,

The HISTORY of

' fair, I shall take Care to manage it as you have
 ' already done, in relation to that Person's know-
 ' ing it, whom you mention in your Letter. The
 ' Thing itself cannot, I think, in its own Nature,
 ' be long a Secret : God only knows what Effect
 ' it may have when it comes out, so strange a
 ' People are we, and so resolved not to be pleased
 ' with any Thing. I shall be able, in a Post or
 ' two, to send *Brocard* some Money, out of which
 ' your Excellency will repay yourself what you
 ' have expended, before you give or order him
 ' the rest. I believe, there is no great Matter to
 ' be known ; but such as it is, he must be en-
 ' couraged.

' I have only in Charge, from my Lord *Jer-*
 ' *sey*, to own the Receipt of yours of the 8th,
 ' and to tell your Lordship, that he will answer
 ' you, by sending away your Express with the
 ' first Opportunity. My Lord Chief Justice *Holt*
 ' having been here to-day, and with the King
 ' in private, has given People Occasion to say,
 ' that he has refused the Seals : If it be so, or not, I
 ' cannot say ; but as yet the Seals are not dispo-
 ' sed of. The King, God be thanked, is well ;
 ' which is all the News I can send you from
 ' this Place. I dined to-day with Mr. *Montague*
 ' here, and drank my Lord *Manchester's* Health.

I am, &c.

M. P R I O R.

This is the last Letter we have of Mr. PRIOR's
 Writing while he was in the Secretary's Office.
 On *Midsummer-Day*, his old Master, the Earl of
Jersey, was made Lord Chamberlain. And the
 famous Mr. *Locke* resigning soon after his Place
 of Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, on
 account of his ill State of Health, Mr. PRIOR was
 appointed to succeed him. In this less burden-
 some, and more profitable Employment, he con-
 tinued

Mr. PRIOR
 made Com-
 missioner
 of Trade and
 Plantations.

tinued several Years, till the Ministry had again need of him towards the End of Queen ANNE's Reign. These Alterations however, though they were talked of at the breaking-up of the Session, were not expected immediately before they happened, even by Mr. PRIOR himself. We learn this from a Letter of Lord *Manchester* to him, in answer to one that is not in being.

To Mr. P R I O R.

SIR,

Paris, June 30, 1700.

I DO not write by this Post to my Lord *Jersey*, because Mr. *Stanyan* intends to set out on *Friday* next, and by him I will let his Lordship know what occurs.

I find by yours, of the 13th Instant, O. S. that there are not to be any Changes. By this I see the Town follows its old Custom of placing and displacing several. As for my own Particular, I shall never like *France* so well as not to wish to be at home. You know the *French* very well, and I believe you find the Diversions at *Hampton-Court*, where I hear you are often, more to your Satisfaction than any Thing here.

The News we have at present is, that the Pope has made a Promotion for the Crowns, viz. the Archbishop of *Paris* (who was Yesterday at *Versailles* to thank the King) for *France*; the Bishop of *Passaro*, for the Emperor; and *Borgia*, a Canon of *Toledo*, for *Spain*. There are still two in *Petto*. We have some times Reports here of the King's being indisposed; but I hope it is not true.

I am, &c.

MANCHESTER.

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The HISTORY of

But within ten Days after his Lordship writes in another Strain, and with a very honest Concern for his Friend's Provision.

To Mr. PRIOR.

SIR,

Paris, July 10, 1700.

I WAS very sorry to hear my Lord *Jersey* had quitted the Office, and much more so, because you also leave it. I suppose you have long foreseen this, and cannot but take care of yourself, being upon the Place: For you often said, Men were forgot when abroad. The Hopes you give, that I am to correspond with Mr. *Vernon*, makes me more easy than I should have been.

The Ambassador of *Savoy* was with me, to let me know, that the Duke his Master had ordered Monsieur *de la Tour*, who was formerly his Envoy in *England*, to return thither with the same Character. This will cause a great Discourse, because he was his chief Minister: But the Reason why he comes is not hard to guess. I was in hopes to have heard something concerning Sir, *Éc.* whose Letter I sent lately to *England*. As soon as I hear from my Lord *Jersey*, I shall not fear to congratulate with him.

I am, &c.

MANCHESTER.

Mr. *Prior* was not fond of writing Letters, when it was no longer a Part of his Business. We have only one more of his to Lord *Manchester*, and that above half a Year after his last. As it relates chiefly to the State of Affairs in that troublesome Winter, it will lead us to take a more particular View of some matters therein mentioned, and others that are omitted.

To

*To the Earl of MANCHESTER.**My Lord,**Dec. 10. 1700. O. S.*

I AM indebted to my good Lord *Manchester* for two or three Letters; and it would be unreasonable, if I did not take the Opportunity of Mr. *Chetwynd*'s Return, to tell your Lordship what I know of the State of Things here. That we shall have a new Parliament, is, I think, certain; at least as far as I can see into the Matter. What Sort of Parliament it may prove, I cannot any ways foresee; but sure there never was so much Work, as at present, in securing Parties and bribing Elections. Whig and Tory are railing, on both Sides, so violent that the Government may easily be over-turned by the Madness of either Faction. We take it to be our Play to do nothing against common Sense or common Law, and to be for those who will support the Crown, rather than oblige either Party; and in order to this, Men are preferred who are looked upon to be honest and moderate. In this Number (whether with Reason or not, Time must decide) we comprehend our * Lord-keeper and our new † Secretary. Lord *Rochester* and Lord *Godolphin* are in the Cabinet-Council; the latter is at the Head of the Treasury; the former (we take it for granted) is to go Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, though it be yet a || Secret. The § two Companies are to be brought to an Agreement (if possible), and Mr. ‡ *Montague*'s being made a Peer (we take it for granted) may contribute to this Union; since, being in the House of Commons, he would make an ill Figure, if he either declined to support the

* Sir *Nathan Wright*.† Sir *Charles Hedges*.

|| It was not a Secret long.

§ The *East-India* Companies.‡ Earl of *Hallifax*.

' new, or should find too great an Opposition in
 ' his endeavouring so to do. As to the * Great
 ' Affair, I presume the King will wholly defer it
 ' to the Parliament, and act conjointly with their
 ' Consent; which I take to be the only Method.
 ' All that I can say more on this Head, is, that
 ' I take it to be happy for the King, that the
 ' Will is preferred by the *French*, at a Time
 ' when every Body was peevish against the Court
 ' (though with Reason God knows) about the
 ' Treaty. Count *Tallard* makes a foolish Figure
 ' here: I do not know, as yet, what he says to
 ' the King on this Occasion; but every Body
 ' observes his Excellency to be very melancholy
 ' and desponding; and one may judge he has
 ' Reason to be so, as to his own Particular, con-
 ' cerning the Part he has been made to act, how-
 ' ever his Country in general may approve their
 ' Monarch's Breach of Truth and Treaty. This
 ' I think is the present Figure of our Affairs,
 ' which I am glad to write to so good a Friend as
 ' my Lord *Manchester*; though to most of the
 ' World here, I am of Opinion that to say least
 ' is to do best. Your Friend my Lord *Jersey*
 ' grows very much a Minister, and is in a fair
 ' Way of being very great. As to my own Af-
 ' fairs, I have a great many Friends who would
 ' set me up at *Cambridge*: I know I shall find
 ' great Opposition from Mr. *Hammond's* Party
 ' there, and great Trouble, in case I should throw
 ' him out, from those Men, who will never be
 ' satisfied, let me act as I will or can. If your
 ' Lordship thinks it convenient, I know you will
 ' not refuse me your Letter to the University.
 ' My Lord *Sandwich* is gone to *Hinchinbrook*, I
 ' hear, in order to set up *Charles Boyle* against
 ' Mr. *Wortley Montague's* Interest at *Huntington*:

* The Spanish Succession.

' *Vive la Guerre*, whosever is chosen or cast out,
' or on what Side soever Things turn.

I am, most truly, &c.

M. P R I O R.

P. S. ' Though I am no longer in a Secretary's Office, Venison would not poison a Commissioner of Commerce, and Does are now in Season; which it may be useful to inform Mr. *Woolaston* of, when next your Lordship writes to him.

We have here an Account of Mr. *Prior's* political Principles under his own Hand. ' He went ' with the Honest and Moderate,' and was ' rather for supporting the Crown, than obliging ' either Party.' This was undoubtedly to pursue the true Interest of his Country, at a Time when Whig and Tory, as he expresses it, were both so violent, that the Government might easily have been overturned by the Madness of either Faction. It has all along been owing to Men of this true *British* Spirit, that the Revolution has been supported on its original Foundation.

Notwithstanding the Zeal of Mr. *Prior's* Friends to get him chosen for *Cambridge*, he made himself a Candidate for *East Grinstead* in *Sussex*, Mr. PRIOR and was there elected. The Parliament met on chosen a the 6th of *February* 1700, and chose *Robert Harley*, Esq; afterwards Earl of *Oxford*, their Speaker. Member of Parliament.

We must give the History of the most material Transactions in this remarkable Session.

While the King was in *Holland* the preceding 1700. Summer, the Nation was sensibly afflicted by the Duke of *Gloucester's* Death: But Means were Death and happily found, at the Meeting of the new Parliament, to repair that public Loss, and secure the settling of the Succession. the Protestant Interest in these Kingdoms, by settling the Succession in the present illustrious Royal Family.

ly. This Affair was concerted at *Loo*, whither the Prince chiefly concerned came to visit his Majesty, soon after the Duke of *Gloucester's* Death. The King, however, in his Speech to both Houses, did not so much as hint at the Person he was desirous to favour on this Occasion; though he very earnestly press'd the making of some Provision for extending the Succession in a Protestant Family. But the Parliament, no doubt, were informed of what had previously been transacted; and the lineal Right of the House of *Hanover*, when all Papists were excluded, was too apparent to be pass'd over.

Precaution
of the Par-
liament.

It is worth while, in this Place, to take notice of the new Limitations of the Crown, which an *English* Parliament, always jealous of the People's Liberties while itself is free, thought proper to add to those that had been already made. The Advantages gain'd by the Revolution, though very many and great, the Commons did not think sufficient for our perpetual Security. Kings and Ministers, they knew, were Men of the like Passions with themselves; and if the favourite Passion of any Future Ones should be to extend the Prerogative, or take any Measures that were inconsistent with the true Interest of the People, they thought too much Precaution could not be had to prevent its taking Effect. Yet tho' always watchful over the People's Rights, they are ever apt enough to make Concessions, to a Prince in whom they can confide: Witness their giving up many of the following Restrictions, upon the Arrival of his late Majesty, who they trusted would make no ill Use of any Part of his Prerogative.

Articles of
Limitation
of the
Crown.

' I. That all Things relating to the well-governing of this Kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy-Council, shall be transacted there; and all Resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by the Privy-Council.

' II. That

‘ II. That no Person whatsoever, who is not
‘ a Native of *England, Scotland, or Ireland*, or
‘ the Dominions thereto belonging, or who is not
‘ born of *English* Parents beyond the Seas, shall
‘ be capable of any Grants of Lands, Tenements,
‘ or Hereditaments from the Crown to himself.

‘ III. That in case the Crown shall come to
‘ any Person not a Native of *England*, this Nation
‘ shall not be obliged to engage in any War for
‘ the Defence of Dominions not belonging to the
‘ Crown of *England*, without the Consent of
‘ Parliament.

‘ IV. That whosoever shall hereafter come to
‘ the Possession of this Crown, shall join in Com-
‘ munion with the Church of *England*, as by
‘ Law established.

‘ V. That no Pardon be pleadable to any Im-
‘ peachment in Parliament.

‘ VI. That no Person who shall hereafter
‘ come to the Possession of this Crown, shall go
‘ out of the Dominions of *England, Scotland, or*
‘ *Ireland*, without Consent of Parliament.

‘ VII. That no Person who has any Office
‘ under the King, or receives a Pension from the
‘ Crown, shall be capable of serving as a Member
‘ of the House of Commons.

‘ VIII. That farther Provision be made for
‘ the confirming of all Laws and Statutes, for the
‘ securing our Religion, and the Rights and Li-
‘ berties of the People.

‘ IX. That Judges Commissions be made *quam*
‘ *diu se bene gesserint*, and their Salaries ascer-
‘ tained; but upon the Address of either
‘ House

‘ House of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them.

‘ X. That the Princess *Sophia*, Dutches Dowager of *Hanover*, be declared the next in Succession to the Cown of *England*, in the Protestant Line, after his Majesty and the Princess, &c.

King of
Spain's
Death, and
the Consequences of it.

But the Event of this Year that most immediately regards Mr. PRIOR's History, was the Death of the King of *Spain*, and the fatal consequences of the *French* King's Ambition, which now laid the Foundation of the long War that followed. That Prince's promoting the Treaties of Partition, I have before observed, was only to amuse the neighbouring Powers, especially His *Britannic* Majesty, and prevent their keeping a strict Watch over his Proceedings, while he made all the necessary Advances for putting his Designs in Execution. The second Treaty had been proposed, according to Agreement between the contracting Parties, to other Courts, for their Acceptance and Guaranty. But it was thought so strange and unprecedented an Affair, that it does not appear any one Prince accepted of it. The Emperor in particular thought himself aggrieved, because he had a Right to the whole *Spanish* Monarchy.

His Will.

King WILLIAM and the States had certainly no other View in this Treaty, but to establish the Peace and Tranquility of *Europe*, and to form a Barrier in the *Netherlands*, for the Security of the United Provinces: But the *French* had very different Designs; which they clandestinely carried on. They procured a Will from the dying King, signed the 2d of *October* N. S. which constituted the Duke of *Anjou*, second son to the Dauphin, his universal Heir, in default of Issue; and made other Provisions for continuing the Succession. This memorable Will was the Contrivance of the

the Marquis d'Harcourt and Cardinal Portocarrero, and the King survived it but barely a Month, dying on the first of *November*.

A Copy of this Will being sent to the Court of *France*, his most Christian Majesty seemed to be in suspense, whether he should accept it or observe the Treaty of Partition. But this was a Feint only; for he did not long waver in his Resolution. On the 16th of *November* the Duke of *Anjou* was declared King of *Spain* in the *French* Court, and proclaimed at *Madrid* on the 24th of the same Month. Duke of Anjou proclaimed. The new elected Pope, *Clement XI*, and the Emperor protested against this Step. The *English* and *Dutch* Ministers likewise represented, That it was not agreeable to the Treaty of Partition, so lately signed. But the *French* King answered, 'That the principal Design of that Treaty being 'to prevent the Union of the Kingdoms of *France* 'and *Spain* under one Sovereign, this was effectually provided for by the Will; the Heirs 'of the Duke of *Anjou* being rendered incapable 'of the Crown of *Spain*, if they succeeded to that 'of *France*: So that the Spirit and Intention of 'the Treaty was still complied with, though it 'might be contrary to the Letter of it.' Adding, 'That his Grandson's Title by the Will accruing 'since that Treaty, could not be affected by it.' This was *French* Sophistry with a Witness, and in the true Spirit of *LEWIS* the XIV, who, while he was thus glossing over his Treachery, had two remarkable Instruments drawn up at *Paris*, to preserve the Duke of *Anjou*'s Title to the Crown of *France*, in case his elder Brother died without Male, which by the *Salic* Law is the only heritable Issue.

The Duke of *Bavaria*, Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, yielding up at the same Time all the Towns and Fortresses in that Country to the *French* King, with their Garrisons, which were partly composed of *Dutch* Troops, the States, rather than enter into an immediate War, while their

their Frontiers were exposed, and run the Hazard of losing those Forces that were in the *Spanish* Towns, thought fit to acknowledge the Duke of *Anjou* for King of *Spain*: Whereupon the *French* suffered the *Dutch* Troops in *Flanders* to return home, without Molestation.

The new Parliament, as before related, being met, the Lords, foreseeing the Consequences of the late Revolution upon the King of *Spain*'s Death, addressed his Majesty, 'That he would enter into all Alliances with such foreign Powers as were willing to unite for the Preservation of the Ballance of Power in *Europe*.' All Things now seemed advancing to a Crisis; and as the Transactions in Parliament, which immediately followed, have the most strict Connexion with the foregoing Parts of this History, I shall give them in the Words of one of our * Historians, who appears to have related them the most concisely.

'On the 18th of *March* his Majesty sent a Message to the Commons by Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, to acquaint them, that Mr. *Stanhope*, his Envoy at the *Hague*, having transmitted to his Majesty Copies of the Demands made by himself, and the Deputies of the States, to the *French* Ambassador, he had thought fit to communicate the same to the Commons, intending to acquaint them from Time to Time with the Progress of those Negotiations.

A Barrier demanded by the *English* and *Dutch*.

'By the Memorials mentioned in the King's Message, the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers demanded of the *French* Ambassador, that his Master should withdraw his Troops out of the *Spanish* Netherlands, and allow a sufficient Barrier for the Security of *England* and the States-

* Mr. *Salmon*.

' General;

' General; to which that Ambassador did not think fit to return any Answer.

' The Commons, having confidred the King's Message, and the Treaty of Partition, at the same Time presented his Majesty an Address; wherein they thanked him for his gracious Message, and represented the ill Consequences of a Treaty of Partition (pass'd under the Great Seal during a Session of Parliament, and without the Advice of the same) to this Kingdom, and the Peace of *Europe*, whereby such large Territories of the King of *Spain's* Dominions were to be delivered up to the *French* King.

The Commons address against the Partition Treaty.

' His Majesty took no notice of the Partition Treaty in his Answer to the Commons; only told them, he was glad they were pleas'd with his communicating to them the State of the Negotiations, which he should continue to inform them of, and receive their Advice thereupon; being persuaded, nothing could contribute more to the Happiness of this Kingdom, and the Peace of *Europe*, than the Concurrence of the Parliament in all his Negotiations, and a good Understanding between him and his People.

' The House of Peers had, two or three Days before, viz. on the 20th of *March*, presented an Address to his Majesty, declaring their Sense of a Partition Treaty; wherein they represent to his Majesty, that having read and considered the said Treaty of the 3d of *March*, 1700, N. S. made with the *French* King, together with the separate and secret Articles which he had been pleas'd to communicate to them, they had, to their great Sorrow, found the Matters thereof would be of very ill Consequence to the Peace and Safety of *Europe*; for that, besides the Occasion it might have given the late King of *Spain* to have made his Will in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*; if that Treaty had taken Effect, the Prejudice to his Majesty and his Subjects, and indeed to all *Europe*, by the

The Lords address against the Treaty of Partition.

' Addition

Censure the
negotiating
it without
the Advice
of the
Council.

' Addition of *Sicily, Naples*, several Ports of the
 ' *Mediterranean*, the Province of *Guipuscoa*, and
 ' the Dutchy of *Lorrain*, had been not only very
 ' great, but contrary to the Pretence of the
 ' Treaty itself, which was to prevent any Um-
 ' brage that might have been taken, by uniting so
 ' many States and Dominions under one Head:
 ' That by all the Informations they had had of
 ' the fatal Treaty, they could not find, that the
 ' verbal Orders or Instructions (if any were given
 ' to his Majesty's Plenipotentiaries) were ever con-
 ' sidered in any of his Majesty's Councils, or that
 ' the Draught of that Treaty had ever been laid
 ' before his Majesty at any Meeting of his Coun-
 ' cil, much less that it was advised or approved of
 ' by any Council or Committee of Council:
 ' Wherefore they thought themselves bound in
 ' Duty to his Majesty, and Justice to their Coun-
 ' try, most humbly to beseech him, that for the
 ' future he would be pleased to require and admit,
 ' in all Matters of Importance, the Advice of
 ' his natural-born Subjects, whose known Probity
 ' and Fortunes might make him and his People
 ' a just Assurance of their Fidelity to his Service;
 ' and that in order thereunto, he would be pleas-
 ' ed to constitute a Council of such Persons, to
 ' whom his Majesty might he pleased to impart
 ' all Affairs, both at home and abroad, which
 ' might any way concern him and his Dominions:
 ' For, as Interest, and natural Affection to their
 ' Country, would incline them to wish the Wel-
 ' fare and Prosperity of it, much more than o-
 ' thers who had no such Ties upon them; and as
 ' their Experience and Knowledge of their Coun-
 ' try would also render them more capable than
 ' Strangers of advising his Majesty in the true In-
 ' terest of it; so they were confident, that after
 ' such large and repeated Demonstrations of his
 ' Subjects Duty and Affection, his Majesty could
 ' not doubt of their Zeal in his Service, nor want
 ' the Knowledge of Persons fit to be employed in
 ' all

all his most secret and arduous Affairs: And that since it appeared the *French King's* accepting of the King of *Spain's* Will, was a manifest Violation of that Treaty, they humbly advised his Majesty, in future Treaties with that Prince, to proceed with such Caution, as might carry a real Security.

His Majesty, having received the Lords Address, answered, That it contained Matters of very great Moment, and he would always take care, that all Treaties he made should be for the Honour and Safety of *England*.

Soon after this, the Earl of *Portland* being charged directly in the House of Peers with negotiating the said Treaty, his Lordship said in his Excuse, That the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Jersey*, and *Marlborough*, the Lords *Somers*, *Lonsdale*, and *Halifax*, had their Share in that Negotiation: To which those Peers replied, They did acknowledge they had seen the Draught of the Treaty; but that the Earl of *Portland* had drawn it up himself in *French*, and they had never given nor refused their Consent to it, because the Treaty was never communicated to the Privy-Council. Many warm Speeches were made upon this Occasion, reflecting upon the Court: Nor did the House of Commons less resent the huddling up those Treaties in the dark, than the House of Peers: Mr. *How*, particularly, said, that the Partition Treaty was a felonious Treaty: comparing it to the Distribution of other Mens Goods amongst Highwaymen.

While the Houses were engaged in these angry Debates, the King sent another Message to the Commons the 30th of *March*, acquainting them, that Mr. *Stanhope* had delivered another Memorial to the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*, requiring that reasonable Satisfaction should be given to the Emperor upon his Pretensions to the *Spanish* Succession: That the *French* King,

The King's Answer to it.

The Earl of *Portland* charged with making this Treaty, and Lord *Somers*, *Halifax*, &c. with advising it.

The *English* and *Dutch* demand Satisfaction for the Emperor, as well as a Barrier.

‘ King, by a short and limited Time, should with-
 ‘ draw all his Troops out of the *Spanish Nether-*
 ‘ *lands*, and that the Towns there should be gar-
 ‘ risoned by *Walloon* or *Netherland* Troops, except
 ‘ such Places as were reserved for the Security of
 ‘ *England* and *Holland*: That for the particular
 ‘ Security of *England*, *Ostend* and *Newport* should
 ‘ be garrisoned by *English* Forces: That no
 ‘ Places belonging to *Spain*, should ever be alien-
 ‘ ated or transferred to *France*, or come under the
 ‘ Power of the *French* King: That the Subjects
 ‘ of *England* should have the same Privileges
 ‘ within the *Spanish* Dominions, as at the King
 ‘ of *Spain*’s Death, and be upon the same foot,
 ‘ with respect to Trade in the *Spanish* Dominions,
 ‘ as the *French*: That *France* and *Spain* should
 ‘ solemnly engage to observe these Particulars;
 ‘ and that the Treaty should be guaranteed by
 ‘ such Powers, as the contracting Parties should
 ‘ desire.

‘ That the *Dutch* had presented a Memorial of
 ‘ the same Tenor; wherein they had demanded
 ‘ *Venlo*, *Ruremand*, *Stevenswaert*, *Luxemburg*,
 ‘ *Namur*, *Charleroy*, *Mons*, *Dendermonde*, *Damme*,
 ‘ and *St. Denys*, for their Barrier.

The Answer
of the *French*.

The States
desire the
English Suc-
cours.

Upon which,
the King de-
mands the
Advice of
the Com-
mons.

They desire
him to act in
concert with
the *Dutch*.
And promise

‘ But that the *French* Ambassador had given the
 ‘ Ministers of *England* and *Holland* no other An-
 ‘ swer, than that his Master would observe the
 ‘ Peace of *Ryswick*; they must expect no other
 ‘ Security. That his Majesty also had received a
 ‘ Memorial from the States, desiring him to hasten
 ‘ the Succours *England* had agreed to send them
 ‘ by the Treaty of the 3d of *March*, 1677:
 ‘ Upon all which, his Majesty desired the Com-
 ‘ mons would give him such Advice, as might be
 ‘ for their own Security, that of the States-Ge-
 ‘ neral, and the Peace of *Europe*.

‘ The House taking this Message into their
 ‘ Consideration on the 2d of *April*, resolved, un-
 ‘ animously, to advise his Majesty to carry on the
 ‘ Negotiations in concert with the States-General,
 ‘ and

‘ and take such Measures therein, as might most to support
 ‘ conduce to their Security: And that his Ma- him.
 ‘ jesty would pursue the Treaty made with the
 ‘ States-General the 3d of *March*, 1677; assur-
 ‘ ing him, that this House would effectually
 ‘ enable him to support the said Treaty of 1677:
 ‘ Whereupon the King thank’d them for the As-
 ‘ surance they had given him, and said, He did
 ‘ not doubt but the Readiness they had shewn on
 ‘ this Occasion, would very much contribute to
 ‘ the obtaining such a Security as was desired.

‘ His Majesty observing, however, that though
 ‘ the Commons were very ready to assist both the
 ‘ *Dutch* and the Emperor, to obtain a sufficient
 ‘ Barrier against *France*, yet they did not at all
 ‘ incline to the entering into a War, for the Re-
 ‘ covery of the Kingdom of *Spain* from the Duke
 ‘ of *Anjou*, thought fit, after he had thoroughly
 ‘ weigh’d all Circumstances, to acknowledge the
 ‘ Duke’s Title to the Crown of *Spain*, and con-
 ‘ gratulate him on his Accession, by the following
 ‘ Letter, viz.

*Most Serene and Potent Prince, our dear Brother
 and Ally.*

‘ **WE** have received your Majesty’s Letter of The King
 ‘ the 24th of *March* last, which has been acknow-
 ‘ very acceptable to us upon many Accounts: ledge the
 ‘ First, because it brought us Notice of your safe Duke of *An-*
 ‘ Arrival into your Kingdom of *Spain*, and of *jou* K. of
 ‘ your coming to the Possession of it, and taking and congr-
 ‘ upon yourself the Government of the Domi- tulates his
 ‘ nions thereunto belonging: And in the second Accession.
 ‘ Place, because they have made it plain to us,
 ‘ that your Majesty hath a Mind to continue, and
 ‘ keep inviolably, that most antient Alliance
 ‘ which is between the two Crowns. Indeed, we
 ‘ have willingly embraced this Occasion, both to
 ‘ congratulate your Majesty’s happy Exaltation to
 ‘ the *Spanish* Throne, and to shew you how much
 ‘ Esteem

The HISTORY of

‘ Esteem we have for your Majesty, and how
 ‘ much we desire to make it appear to you, that
 ‘ our Inclination doth most readily prompt us to
 ‘ endeavour what we can, that the mutual Con-
 ‘ junction of Friendship and Alliance between us
 ‘ may be confirmed and knit faster, and the
 ‘ common Good of the two Nations may daily
 ‘ more and more flourish and be promoted;
 ‘ which we hope also will redound to the pub-
 ‘ lic Benefit and Good of all *Europe*: What re-
 ‘ mains, is to commend and commit your Ma-
 ‘ jesty to the Care and Protection of Almighty
 ‘ God.

*Given at our Palace at Kensington, the 17th
 Day of April, 1701, and the 13th Year
 of the Reign of your Majesty's most loving
 Brother and Ally.*

Sign'd,

GULIELMUS REX.

‘ The King of *England*, as well as the States,
 ‘ having now recogniz'd *Philip* King of *Spain*,
 ‘ the Conferences at the *Hague* were resumed be-
 ‘ tween the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers, and
 ‘ Monsieur *D'Avaux*, the *French* Ambassador
 ‘ there, for settling a Barrier, pursuant to the
 ‘ Advice the Commons had given his Majesty.

The Earl of
Portland im-
 peach'd for
 negotiating
 the Partition
 Treaty.

‘ In the mean Time the Commons continued
 ‘ to consider the Partition Treaty, and who
 ‘ were the Advisers of it; and in the Beginning
 ‘ of *April* came to a Resolution, That *William*
 ‘ *Earl of Portland*, by negotiating and concluding
 ‘ the Treaty of Partition, which was destructive
 ‘ to the Trade of this Kingdom, and dangerous to
 ‘ the Peace of *Europe*, was guilty, and should
 ‘ be impeached, of high Crimes and Misdemea-
 ‘ nours; and Sir *John Levison Gower*, by Or-
 ‘ der of the House, went up to the Lords Bar,
 ‘ and there impeached the said Earl, acquaint-
 ‘ ing them, that they would in due Time ex-
 ‘ hibit Articles against him: Immediately after
 ‘ which,

which, the Commons, at a Conference, desired their Lordships to communicate to them what Informations their Lordships had received of any Transactions relating to the Negotiations or Treaties of Partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy: Whereupon their Lordships delivered to them the two *Latin* Commissions of Powers, granted to the Earls of *Portland* and *Jersey*, for the negotiating the said Treaties, the one dated the first of *July*, 1699, the other the 2d of *January*, 1700: As also a private Paper of the Lord *Portland*'s, in which Secretary *Vernon* advises him to negotiate the first Treaty.

On the 14th of *April*, the Commons being in a Debate, whether they should impeach the Lord *Somers* for advising the said Treaty, that Lord desired to be heard before they came to any Resolution, and was admitted into the House, where he made an Apology for his Conduct; but being withdrawn, the Commons came to a Resolution, That *John* Lord *Somers*, by advising his Majesty, in the Year 1698, to the Treaty for Partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy, whereby large Territories of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions were to be delivered up to *France*, was guilty of a high Crime and Misdemeanor; and Mr. *Harcourt*, accordingly, by the Command of the Commons, impeached that Lord at the Bar of the House of Lords, declaring that the House would in due Time exhibit Articles against him.

Lord *Somers* impeach'd for advising the Partition Treaty.

The Lord *Somers*, at his Hearing before the Commons, delivered the Copies of two Letters to the House; the first of which he received from the King, desiring his Advice in the first Treaty of Partition; and the second was his Lordship's Answer to it. These Letters I have before inserted in their proper Place.

The

The Commons address his Majesty to remove the Lords *Somers, Portland, Halifax, and Orford*, from his Councils.

' The Commons proceeded, on the 23d of *April*, to present an Address to his Majesty; wherein they represent the great Satisfaction they had in their Enquiry concerning the Treaty of Partition made in 1698 (on which the Treaty in 1699 was founded) to observe his Majesty's Care in not entering on that Negotiation without the Advice of his *English* Counsellors; and finding, that *John* Lord *Somers*, on whose Judgment his Majesty chiefly relied in that important Affair, did, in concert with *Edward* Earl of *Orford*, and *Charles* Lord *Halifax*, advise his Majesty to enter into that Treaty of such dangerous Consequence, without the Advice of his Council; that they might no longer be able to deceive his Majesty, and abuse his People, they desired he would be pleased to remove the said *John* Lord *Somers*, *Edward* Earl of *Orford*, and *Charles* Lord *Halifax*, from his Council and Presence for ever; as also *William* Earl of *Portland*, who translated those Treaties; and concluded with repeating their Assurances to stand by and support his Majesty to the utmost of their Power.

' To which his Majesty answered, He thanked them for their Assurances of supporting him, and should employ none in his Service, but such as were like to improve that mutual Trust and Confidence between them, which was so necessary at that Conjunction for their Security, and the Preservation of their Allies.

The House of Peers address the King not to remove those Lords.

' On the contrary, the House of Lords (in which the Courtiers had had a Majority for some Time) though they had themselves said very hard Things of the Partition-Treaty, and the Manner of transacting it, in their Address; yet, in behalf of these their favourite Brethren, they now presented an Address of another Strain; wherein they beseech his Majesty not to pass any Censure on those Lords, until they

' were

‘ were tried upon the Impeachments the Commons had preferred against them. Thus Matters rested till the 5th of *May*, when the Lords sent a Message to the Commons, to remind, They remind the Commons that no Articles were sent up against the impeached Lords. them that there were yet no Articles preferred against the impeached Lords; whereupon the Commons, on the 9th of the same Month, sent up Articles against *Edward Earl of Orford*, in Maintenance of their Impeachment.

‘ The Articles against the Earl of *Orford* set forth, That he, preferring his private Interest to the publick Good, had, during an expensive War, procured several Grants from his Majesty of Lands and exorbitant Sums of Money: That while he commanded the Royal Navy in the *Streights*, he received the public Money, and converted it to his private Use, and then procured a Privy-Seal to discharge him of it: That he received considerable Sums from the King of *Spain* also, with great Quantities of Wine, Oil, and other Provisions for the Fleet, which he converted to his own Use: That he sold and disposed of several Vessels as Prizes without Condemnation: That, presiding in the Commission of Lord High-Admiral, he had rejected the Request of the *East-India* Company for suppressing Pirates, and had procured a Commission for *William Kidd*, who had committed Piracy, encouraged thereto by his Hopes of the Earl's Protection: That while he commanded the Royal Navy, he lost several Opportunities of destroying the Enemy's Ships, and that he advised the King to enter into the Treaty of Partition, which was prejudicial to the Nation; with some other Things of less Moment.

‘ To which the Earl answered. That his Majesty, in Consideration of his Services for many Years, had voluntarily made him a reverfionary Grant for the Value of about ten thousand The Earl's Answer.

' sand Pounds: That he had legally pass'd his
 ' Accounts for all Monies he had received on
 ' account of the Public: That whatever he re-
 ' ceived of the King of *Spain* for the Fleet,
 ' was duly distributed among the Seamen: That
 ' he constantly gave Orders for proceeding a-
 ' gainst the Prizes that were taken according to
 ' Law: That he never discouraged the *East India*
 ' Company's Request for the suppressing of Pi-
 ' rates: That *Kidd's* Commission was granted
 ' according to Law, and intended for the pub-
 ' lic Good; and, if he had committed Piracy,
 ' he was never encouraged in it by the Earl:
 ' That he had not neglected his Duty against
 ' the Enemy; and, considering his Services a-
 ' gainst the *French* Fleet, he did not expect to
 ' be charged therewith: And denies that he ad-
 ' vised his Majesty to enter into the Partition
 ' Treaty, for he objected to it, he averred, and
 ' gave his Opinion against the same.

Articles
 against the
 Lord *Somers*.

' The Commons also on the 19th of *May*,
 ' sent up Articles against the Lord *Somers*;
 ' wherein they charge him with advising the
 ' Partition Treaties, and passing, both the Pow-
 ' ers to treat, and the Treaties themselves, un-
 ' der the Great Seal, without the Knowledge of
 ' the Council or the other Lords-Justices, leav-
 ' ing one entire Blank Sheet, with several other
 ' Blanks to be filled up, as well in the Commis-
 ' sions and Powers, for negotiating the said
 ' Treaties, as in the Treaties themselves; nei-
 ' ther did he enroll them in Chancery, as the
 ' Law required: That he passed many unrea-
 ' sonable Grants under the Broad Seal, and ad-
 ' vised and procured divers Grants of the for-
 ' feited Estates in *Ireland*: That besides the
 ' Fees and Perquisites of his Office, he procur-
 ' ed a Pension of 4000 *l. per Annum*, and sever-
 ' al other unreasonable Grants for his own Be-
 ' nefit, in which his Majesty was deceived:
 ' That he had procured a Commission for *Wil-*
 ' *liam*

' *ham Kidd*, a Person of ill Fame, who had
' turned Pirate, and procured a Grant for him-
' self and some others, in feigned Names, of
' such Vessels and Goods as he should take :
' That he had made illegal and unwarrantable
' Orders, while Chancellor, with some other
' Matters of less Moment.

' To which he answered, That he had, ac- Lord So-
' cording to his Duty, given the King his Opi- mer's An-
' nion freely on the Partition-Treaties, and had swer.
' his Majesty's Letters for his Warrants in sett-
' ing the Great Seal to the said Commissions
' and Treaties: That it was not incumbent up-
' on him, as Lord Chancellor, to see the said
' Commissions or Treaties enroll'd; but the
' Care of it belong'd to the Prothonotary of
' the Court of Chancery: That he never pass'd
' any Grants without sufficient Warrants, and
' that more considerable Grants had pass'd in
' the Times of his Predecessors: That the an-
' nual Pension of 4000 *l. per Annum* had been
' allowed to other Chancellors: That he never
' begg'd any Grant; but what he had received,
' was given him voluntarily by his Majesty, in Con-
' sideration of his Services: That the Commis-
' sion to Captain *Kidd*, was then thought neces-
' sary for the Preservation of Trade and Navi-
' gation. He acknowledges, that *Samuel New-*
' *ton's* Name in the Grant of the Vessels and
' Goods that should be taken by *Kidd*, was used
' in Trust for him (the Lord *Somers*;) but that
' *Kidd*, having abused his Commission and turn'd
' Pirate, his Employers had lost their Expences,
' instead of making any Gain by sending him
' out.

' The Articles against *Charles Lord Halifax* The Articles
' set forth, That whereas the Commons had against the
' thought it reasonable to apply the forfeited Lord *Hali-*
' Estates in *Ireland* to the Use of the Publick, fax.
' he had procured a Grant of several Sums
' forfeited to the Crown in that Kingdom,
' amounting

amounting to 13000 *l.* That he had procured several Grants also in *England*; particularly a Grant of 14000 *l.* to be raised out of scrubbed Beech, Birch, Holly, &c. growing in his Majesty's Forests; under colour whereof, he had cut down and sold for his own Benefit sappling Oaks, and many Tons of well-grown Timber: That he procured several Offices and Places in the Treasury and Exchequer, which he enjoyed at the same Time, though they were manifestly inconsistent, and ought to have been a Check on each other: And lastly, that he advised the Partition Treaties.

The Lord
Halifax's
Answer.

To this the Lord *Halifax* answered, That he did accept a Grant of Debts, &c. forfeited to the Crown in *Ireland*, and amounting to 13000 *l.* as he lawfully might; but that they had been taken away from him by the late Act of Resumption, and he had not made clear of them above 400 *l.* That he had not accepted of the Grants mentioned in *England*, and particularly 2000 *l. per Ann.* for seven Years, to be raised by the Fall of Scrub Beech, Birch, &c. and if any Abuse had been in cutting the Wood, he was not answerable for the same, it being done by the Direction of his Majesty's Surveyor-Generals, and other Officers: He does not deny his enjoying the said Places in the Treasury and the Exchequer; but says, it was but for a little while; he designed from the Beginning to lay some of them down, and had actually relinquish'd some of them. He says, he never advised the Partition Treaties, or was consulted thereupon; but, when the Matter was discoursed of at *Tunbridge-Wells*, he made several Objections to the same.

The Lords
put the
Commons
in mind of
replying to
the E. of
Orford,

The Lords, by a Message the 24th of *May*, put the Commons in mind of replying to the Earl of *Orford's* Answer, and that a Day might be appointed for his Trial, and for exhibiting

‘hibiting Articles against the Earl of *Portland*
‘and the other Lords.

‘To which the Commons answered, That
‘they deferred bringing up the Replication a-
‘gainst the Earl of *Orford*, because they thought
‘fit to begin with the Trial of the Lord *So-*
‘*mers*: And as to the other Part of the Lord’s
‘Message, putting them in mind of sending up
‘Articles of Impeachment against the Earl of
‘*Portland*, &c. they held it to be unparliamen-
‘tary, they as Prosecutors being proper Judges,
‘where Articles of Impeachment ought to be
‘brought up.

‘Then the Lords sent a Message to the Com-
‘mons; acquainting them, that they had ap-
‘pointed the 9th of *June* for the Trial of the
‘Earl of *Orford*, and that the Commons might
‘reply if they thought fit. They also put them
‘in mind again, that no Articles were exhibit-
‘ed against the Earl of *Portland*; which, after
‘an Impeachment had so long depended, they
‘observed was a Hardship, and not agreeable
‘to the usual Method of Parliament.

‘To this the Commons replied, That it was
‘their undoubted Right, when several Persons
‘stood impeached, to bring to Trial such of
‘them in the first Place as they saw fit; and
‘that no Day ought to be appointed by their
‘Lordships for the Trial, without some previ-
‘ous Signification to their Lordships from the
‘Commons of their being ready to proceed
‘therein; and therefore the Commons could
‘not agree to the Day appointed by their Lord-
‘ships for the Trial of the Earl of *Orford*:
‘And as to that Part of their Message relating
‘to the sending up Articles against the Earl of
‘*Portland*, they thought their Lordships, by
‘the frequent Repetition of it, intended to in-
‘troduce Disputes to the Delay of Justice, and
‘in Breach of that good Correspondence which
‘ought to be observed between the two Houses.

H

‘The

The Lords
appoint a
Day for the
Trial of the
E. of *Orford*.

The Com-
mons resent
it, because
they were
not ready.

The Lords
insist on
their Right
to appoint
the Trial.

‘ The Lords, in a subsequent Message, put the Commons in mind of replying to the Lord *Somers*; and asserted, that the Right of limiting a convenient Time for the Trial was lodged in them.

‘ The Commons afterwards, at a Conference, proposed the appointing a Committee of both Houses, to consider of the most proper Ways and Methods of proceeding on Impeachments: But the Lords by another Message, insisted on their Right of appointing the Day of Trial, without any previous Signification from the Commons of their being ready; and complained, that the Commons should charge them with delaying Justice.

The Commons insist on a Committee of both Houses to adjust Preliminaries.

‘ The Commons, on the other hand, insisted on the nominating a Committee of both Houses, to adjust the necessary Preliminaries to the Trials: As, whether the impeached Lords should appear at their Trials at their Lordships Bar as Criminals; and whether they should sit as Judges at each other’s Trials, or vote in their own Cases, as they found by their Lordships Journals they had been admitted to do.

The Lords refuse it, and appoint a Day for Lord *Somers*’s Trial.

‘ Still the Lords refused to appoint any such Committee to consider of the Ways and Methods of Impeachments, and appointed *Friday*, the 13th of *June*, for the Trial of the Lord *Somers*: But the Commons refused to appear at any Trial, till the Preliminaries were settled.

Resolutions of the Lords concerning Trials.

‘ The Lords afterwards sent the following Resolutions to the Commons, *viz.* 1st, That no Lord of Parliament, impeached for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, and coming to his Trial, shall be without the Bar. 2dly, That no Lord, impeached of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, can be precluded from voting on any Occasion, except in his own Trial. And that the Commons should not pretend they were

' were straitened for Time, the Lords ordered
' the Trial of the Lord Somers to be put off to
' the 17th Instant, and agreed to a free Con-
' ference with the Commons.

' At this Conference the Lord *Haversham* A free Con-
' said, The Lords had so high an Opinion of ^{ference a-}
' the House of Commons, that *they hop'd Justice* ^{greed to.}
' *should never be made use of as a Mask for any*
' *Design: That it was a Demonstration the Com-*
' *mons thought the Lords innocent, because there*
' *were several other Lords engaged in the same*
' *Things, whom they did not accuse, but left them*
' *at the Head of Affairs, near the King's Person,*
' *to do any Mischief if they were inclined to it,*
' *when they were both alike guilty, and concern'd*
' *in the same Facts.*

' These Expressions were immediately object- The Com-
' ed to by Sir *Christopher Musgrave*, and the mons resent
' Managers for the Commons, who took them some Words
' to be such an Aspersion on the Honour of ^{spoken by}
' that House, that they immediately withdrew, ^{Lord Ha-}
' from the Conference. As they withdrew, the ^{versham.}
' Lord Steward said, He hoped they would not
' think, that the Lord had any Authority from the
' House of Lords to use any such Expressions
' towards the Commons.

' However, the Managers being return'd to
' their House, it was resolv'd, That *John* Lord
' *Haversham* had, at the free Conference, utter'd
' most scandalous Reproaches and false Exptes-
' sions, highly reflecting upon the Honour and
' Justice of the House of Commons, and tend-
' ing to the making a Breach in the good Cor-
' respondence between the Lords and Common s,
' and to the interrupting the publick Justice o
' the Nation, by delaying the Proceedings on ^{Lord Ha-}
' Impeachments: And resolv'd, That *John* Lord ^{versham}
' *Haversham* be charged before the Lords, for charged
' the Words spoken at the said Conference; and with the
' that the Lords be desired to proceed in Justice ^{Words}
' against him, and to inflict such Punishment ^{spoken at}
' ^{the Confer-}

‘ upon the said Lord, as so high an Offence
‘ against the Commons does deserve.

‘ The Lords afterwards desired, that the Free
‘ Conference might be renew’d, in order to set
‘ all Matters to rights; but the Commons re-
‘ solv’d, that it was not consistent with their
‘ Honour to renew the Free Conference, till
‘ Justice was done them on the Lord *Harversham*.

Rules to be
observed at
the Trial of
Lord *Somers*,

‘ The Lords, on the 16th of *June*, sent the
‘ Commons the following Rules, to be observ-
‘ ed at the Trial of the Lord *Somers* the next
‘ Day, *viz.*

‘ That the whole Impeachment is to be read,
‘ and then the Answer; which being done, the
‘ Lord Keeper is to tell the Commons, that
‘ now they may go on with their Evidence.

‘ Then the Lord Keeper is to declare, That
‘ now the Court is proceeding to hear the Evi-
‘ dence, and desire the Peers to give Atten-
‘ tion.

‘ If any of the Peers, or the Members of
‘ the House Commons, that manage the Evi-
‘ dence, or the Lord impeached, do desire
‘ to have any Question ask’d, they must desire
‘ the Lord Keeper to ask the same.

‘ If any Debate doth arise at the Trial, no
‘ Debate is to be in the Court, but the Que-
‘ stion suspended, to be debated in this House.

‘ The Members of the House of Commons
‘ to be there before the Peers come.

‘ None to be covered at the Trial but the
‘ Peers.

‘ That such Peers, at the Trial of the im-
‘ peached Lord, who, at the Instance of the
‘ said Lord, or of the Commons, shall be ad-
‘ mitted Witnesses, are to be sworn at the
‘ Clerk’s Table; and the Lord Keeper to ad-
‘ minister the Oath, and they to deliver their
‘ Evidence in their own Places.

‘ Those

‘ Those Witnesses that are Commoners, are to be sworn at the Bar by the Clerk, and are to deliver their Evidence there.

‘ The impeached Lords may cross-examine Witnesses *viva voce*.

‘ The same Day, the Commons received the Lord *Haversham's* Answer to their Charge; in which he justified the Expression he had used at the late Conference between the two Houses; and still asserted, that the Commons had shewn themselves partial, and even unjust, in proceeding against the impeached Lords, while they suffer'd the Earl of *Jersey*, Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, Sir *Joseph Williamson*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, and Mr. *Pelham*, who were engaged in the same Transactions, to remain unmolested.

‘ On the other hand, the Commons gave several Reasons why they could not appear at the Trial of the Lord *Somers*; the Principal whereof were, 1st, That the Lords had not agreed to a Committee of both Houses for settling the Preliminaries. 2^{dly}, That they could never appear as Prosecutors before their Lordships, till they had given them Satisfaction, that Lords impeached of the same Crimes should not sit as Judges on each other's Trials for those Crimes. 3^{dly}, Because the Commons had yet received no Reparation for the great Indignity offer'd them at the Free Conference by the Lord *Haversham*.

‘ The Lords however proceeded to the Trial of the Lord *Somers*, the 17th Instant, in *Westminster-Hall*; that is, they caused the Articles against him, and his Answer, to be read; and the Commons not having reply'd, and consequently no Issue being join'd, the Lords proceeded to put the following Question, *That John Lord Somers be acquitted of the Articles of Impeachment against him exhibited by the House of Commons, and all Things therein contained;*

The Lords
Answer to
the Com-
mons Rea-
sons.

‘ and that the said Impeachment be dismissed?
‘ Which was resolved in the Affirmative, in the
‘ Absence of the Commons.

‘ On the 20th of *June*, the Lords sent an
‘ Answer to the Commons Reasons for not ap-
‘ pearing at the Trial of the impeach’d Lords ;
‘ wherein their Lordships say, That they ac-
‘ knowledged, that the House of Commons have
‘ a Right of impeaching ; but that the Lords
‘ have an undoubted Right of doing Justice upon
‘ these Impeachments, by bringing them to a
‘ Trial, and condemning or acquitting the Parties
‘ in a reasonable Time : That there never was a
‘ Committee of both Houses yielded to by the
‘ Lords, in case of an Impeachment for high
‘ Crimes and Misdemeanors ; and they should
‘ make no Precedent on the Occasion : And, as
‘ to the Pretence the Commons made to delay
‘ the Trials, on account of some Expressions that
‘ fell from the Lord *Haverſham*, their Lordships
‘ answer, they had omitted nothing which might
‘ give the Commons all reasonable Satisfaction in
‘ that Matter ; and observed farther, That this
‘ Business had no Relation to the Trial of the
‘ impeached Lords, therefore they could not
‘ imagine why the Commons should make Sa-
‘ tisfaction and Reparation against the Lord *Ha-*
‘ *verſham* a necessary Condition for going on
‘ with the Trials.

The Com-
mons resolve
the Lords
had refused
them Jus-
tice, &c.

And protest
against their
Proceedings.

‘ The Commons, on the contrary, came to a
‘ Resolution, the same 20th of *June*, That the
‘ Lords had refused Justice to the Commons,
‘ upon the Impeachment against the Lord *Somers*,
‘ by denying a Committee of both Houses to set-
‘ tle the Preliminaries, and afterwards proceed-
‘ ing to a pretended Trial of the said Lord, which
‘ would tend only to protect him from Justice, by
‘ Colour of an illegal acquittal, against which Pro-
‘ ceedings the Commons did solemnly protest, as be-
‘ ing repugnant to the Rules of Justice, and there-
‘ fore null and void : That the House of Lords,
‘ by

' by the pretended Trial of *John Lord Somers*,
 ' had endeavoured to overturn the Right of Im-
 ' peachments, lodg'd in the House of Commons
 ' by the ancient Constitution of this Kingdom,
 ' for the Safety and Protection of the Commons
 ' against the Power of great Men, and had made
 ' an Invasion on the Liberties of the Subject, by
 ' laying a Foundation of Impunity for the great-
 ' est Offenders: That all the ill Consequences
 ' which might attend the Delay of the Supplies,
 ' given by the Commons for preserving the pub-
 ' lick Peace, and maintaining the Balance of
 ' *Europe*, by supporting our Allies against the
 ' Power of *France*, were to be imputed to those,
 ' who, to procure an Indemnity for their own
 ' enormous Crimes, had used their utmost Endeavours to make a Breach between the two
 ' Houses.

' In answer to this Protest, the Lords sent the
 ' Commons a Message the same Day; acquaint- The Lords
 ' ing them, That the Commons not appearing Answer to
 ' to maintain their Articles against the Lord *Som-*
 ' *mers*, they had acquitted him of the Articles of
 ' Impeachment, and dismiss'd the same; and
 ' that they had appointed *Monday* next for the
 ' Trial of the Earl of *Orford*: That from the
 ' Commons still pressing for a Committee of both
 ' Houses, their Lordships inferred, that they never
 ' designed the bringing any of their Impeach-
 ' ments to a Trial: And as to the Lord *Har-*
 ' *sham*, his Answer was before the Commons,
 ' and the Lords resolved to do Justice in that
 ' Matter.

' The Commons, on the other hand, offered;
 ' That no Member should presume to appear at
 ' the pretended Trial of the Earl of *Orford*, on
 ' Pain of incurring the utmost Displeasure of the
 ' House.

Their Re-
solution.

“ On *Monday*, the 23d of *June*, the Lords re-
solved, That the Resolutions of the Commons
of the 20th Instant, contained most unjust Re-
flections on the Honour and Justice of the House
of Peers; and were contrived to cover their
affected and unreasonable Delays in prosecuting
the impeached Lords; and did manifestly tend
to the Destruction of the Judicature of the
Lords; to the rendering Trials and Impeach-
ments impracticable for the future; to the sub-
verting the Constitution of the *English* Govern-
ment; and therefore, whatever ill Consequen-
ces might arise from the so long deferring the
Supplies of this Year’s Service, they were to be
attributed to the fatal Council of the putting
off the Meeting of a Parliament so long, and
to the unnecessary Delays of the House of
Commons.

The Earl of
Orford ac-
quitted.

“ The same Day the Lords proceeded to ac-
quit the Earl of *Orford*, as they had done the
Lord *Somers*; and on the 24th of *June*, the
last Day of the Session, they made the follow-
ing Order, *viz.*

Order of
the Lords,
concerning
Lord *Haver-*
sham, and
the Lords
Portland and
Halifax.

“ The House of Commons not having pre-
sented their Charge, which they brought up
against *John* Lord *Haversham*, for Words
spoken by him, at a free Conference the 13th
Instant, the said Charge is hereby dismissed.
“ The Earl of *Portland* being impeached by the
House of Commons, of high Crimes and
Misdemeanors, the first Day of *April* last, the
Impeachment is hereby dismissed, there
being no Articles exhibited against him. The
House of Commons having impeached *Charles*
Lord *Halifax*, of high Crimes and Misde-
meanors, on the 15th Day of *April* last; and
on the 14th Day of this Instant *June* exhibited
Articles against him, to which he having an-
swered, and there being no further Prosecuti-
on thereupon, the said Impeachment and Ar-
ticles

“ ticles are hereby dismissed.’ At the same Time
 ‘ they dismissed an Impeachment, that had been
 ‘ preferred against the Duke of *Leeds*, by a former Parliament.’

These were the famous Proceedings in King WILLIAM's last Parliament but one, of which Mr. *Prior* was a Member, and voted for the Impeachments. Tho' I had already been pretty extensive on the Partition Treaty, I could not omit this Relation, which contains that Part of its Consequences that most peculiarly relates to our Subject. I shall now entirely drop it, having first added my Author's Remarks on these Impeachments.

‘ It seems to have been agreed, both by the Lords and Commons on this Dispute, that the Partition Treaty was of pernicious Consequence, and that the transacting it in a private Manner, without communicating it to the Council, was a high Misdemeanor in those that advised and transacted it : But whether the Commons suspected, that the Lords, who were generally in the Interest of the old Ministry, would not pass any Censure on the impeached Lords, or for what other Reason, is uncertain, the Commons seem to have been a little dilatory in their Proceedings, and might design the Lords should have lain under an Impeachment, during the Recess of the Parliament. There might possibly be something of Party also in the Case : The impeached Lords were the Chiefs of the Whigs, and had long reigned at Court without Controul ; and the Tories, who succeeded them, had a View, perhaps, of preventing their returning to their Posts, as well as of bringing them to Justice for negotiating the Partition Treaty, and for the other Misdemeanors mentioned in the Articles. There are few Prosecutions of this Kind, but there is a great deal of

‘ private Pique, Interest, and Resentment, mixed
 ‘ with Views of the public Good.

The King in
 Holland.
 Things at a
 Crisis.

The King of *Great Britain*, at the breaking
 up of the Parliament, set out for *Holland*, to con-
 fer with the States on the present Posture of Af-
 fairs. He arrived at the *Hague* on the 3d of
July 1701, and was joyfully received. Soon after
 the *French* Ambassador there signified his being
 re-called; the *Germans*, under Prince *Eugene*,
 penetrated into the *Milaneze*; a War broke out in
 the North between King *Charles* the XIIth of
Sweden, and the Confederates against him; in
 short, a Flame seemed to be kindling throughout
 all *Christendom*. The Death of King *JAMES*
 at *St. Germain's*, in the midst of this Confusion,
 effectually blow'd it up, and left no Possibility of
 an Accommodation.

King
JAMES dies.

The Pre-
 tender pro-
 claimed.

‘ The *French* King, foreseeing a War unavoid-
 ‘ able, unless he would relinquish Part of the *Spa-*
 ‘ *nish* Dominions, had promised King *JAMES*, on
 ‘ his Death-bed, that he would acknowledge his
 ‘ Son (the Pretender) King of *England*, immedi-
 ‘ ately after his Decease, and was as good as his
 ‘ Word, proclaiming him King of *England*, *Scot-*
 ‘ *land*, and *Ireland*; whereupon the Earl of

The *English*
 Ambassador
 at *Paris* re-
 turns home.

‘ *Manchester*, the *English* Ambassador at *Paris*,
 ‘ was ordered to return home without taking
 ‘ leave, and Monsieur *Poussin*, the *French* Resi-
 ‘ dent in *England*, to depart the Kingdom: Im-
 ‘ mediately after which, the City of *London*, and
 ‘ most of the Counties of *England*, transmitted
 ‘ Addresses to his Majesty in *Holland*; declaring
 ‘ their Sense of the Indignity offered him, and
 ‘ promising to support his Government against
 ‘ the Pretender, and all his Enemies: And, in
 ‘ the mean Time, his Majesty concluded Alli-
 ‘ ances with several foreign Princes against
 ‘ *France*; but that of the greatest Consequence
 ‘ was with the Emperor and *Holland*, usually
 ‘ styled the *Grand Alliance*, which was of the fol-
 ‘ lowing Tenor, (*viz.*)

Loyal Ad-
 dresses pro-
 mising to
 stand by the
 Kingdom.

I. “ That

I. " That there shall be a strict Alliance be- The Articles
of the Grand
Alliance.
" tween the Emperor, the King of *England*, and
" the States General.

II. " That, for settling the Peace and Tran-
" quillity of *Europe*, which is their chief Aim,
" they have thought nothing could more conduce
" thereunto, than to procure Satisfaction to the
" Emperor for his Pretensions upon *Spain*, and
" Security to *England* and *Holland*, for their
" Dominions and Commerce.

III. " That they shall employ their good Of-
" fices for two Months together after the Ratifi-
" cation, in order to obtain that End in an ami-
" cable Way.

IV. " That, if they cannot succeed therein,
" they shall assist each other with all their
" Forces.

V. " That they shall endeavour to conquer
" the *Spanish Netherlands*, that they may serve
" as a Barrier for the securing the States-Gene-
" ral; to conquer the Dutchy of *Milan* as a
" Fief of the Empire; the Kingdom of *Naples*
" and *Sicily*, and the Islands and Places on the
" Coasts of *Tuscany*, which may be advantage-
" ous to the Navigation and Trade of the *Eng-
" lish* and *Dutch*.

VI. " That, for the greater Security of the
" Navigation of the *English* and *Dutch*, it shall
" be lawful for them to attack and possess the
" Countries and Towns belonging to *Spain* in the
" *Indies*; and that they shall keep for themselves
" the Countries and Towns conquered by them.

VII. " That

That

VII. " That, if they are necessitated to enter into a War, they shall sincerely communicate unto each other every Thing relating to their Interests.

VIII. " That none of the Parties shall make Peace without the Consent of the other, nor before they have obtained a convenient Satisfaction for the Emperor, and a Security for the Dominions and Trade of the *English* and *Dutch*, and procured that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* be never re-united under the same Prince ; and in particular ; that the *French* be never Masters of the *Indies* submitted to *Spain*, or that they be permitted to trade into that Country, directly or indirectly ; nor before they have obtained for the *English* and *Dutch* those Rights, Privileges and Franchises, for their Trade in *Spain* and the *Mediterranean*, which they enjoy'd under *Charles II*, by Vertue of Treaties, Custom, or any other Title whatsoever.

IX. " They shall agree, at the same Time, that the Peace shall be treated of on the Means for securing the Commerce of both Nations and the Barrier.

X. " They shall agree about the Differences that may relate to the Exercise of Religion in the Countries they hope to conquer.

XI. " If the most Christian King attacks any of them, by reason of this Treaty, they shall assist each other with all their Forces.

XII. " The defensive Alliance shall subsist between the said Parties after the Conclusion of the Peace for the Guarantee of the Treaty.

XIII. " AN

XIII. " All Princes and States, that shall be
 " willing to come into this Alliance, shall be
 " admitted ; and the States of the Empire shall
 " be particularly invited to come into the same,
 " as being concern'd in the Recovery of the im-
 " perial Fiefs.

XIV. " This Treaty, which was sign'd on the
 " 7th of *September* last, shall be ratified within
 " seven Weeks after."

' King WILLIAM being detained in *Holland*, King Wil-
 ' partly by his ill State of Health, and partly in *liam comes*
 ' concerting Measures with the States to attack *to England.*
 ' the *French* Frontiers the next Campaign, did not
 ' arrive in *England* till the 5th of *November* ; and,
 " on the 11th of the same Month, he issued a He dissolves
 ' Proclamation for dissolving the Parliament, and the Parlia-
 ' calling another to meet on the 30th of *Decem-* ment, and
 ' ber: The Reason given for which was, That calls another
 ' his Majesty might have the present Sense of the
 ' Nation in this extraordinary Conjunction ; but,
 ' probably, the greatest Inducement might be to
 ' prevent a Revival of the Differences between the
 ' two Houses of Parliament, whereby the Sup-
 ' plies necessary for the approaching War might
 ' have been delay'd.

' The City of *London*, and some other Places, *London gives*
 " thought fit to give their Representatives In- their Mem-
 ' structions for their Conduct in the ensuing Ses- bers Instruc-
 ' sion ; importing, that they should vigorously tions.
 ' assist his Majesty in maintaining his Title to the
 ' Crown, to make good his Alliances, and reduce
 " the Power of *France* ; recommending, above
 " all Things, a Union between the two Houses."

The Parliament elected *Robert Harley*, Esq; King Wil-
 who had presidid in the last House of Commons, *liam's last*
 to be their Speaker. I shall not insert his Maje- *Parliament.*
 sty's

ty's Speech at his coming to the House, which being his last, is in abundance of Hands. Both Lords and Commons, in their Addresses, returned him Thanks for it; expressed their Resolutions to maintain and support his Title, and to enable him to make good all his Alliances, for the Preservation of the Liberties of *Europe*, and reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*: And the Commons, in order to raise a present Sum of Money for his warlike Preparations, resolved, That whoever should advance the Sum of 600,000 *l.* for the Service of the Fleet, and 50,000 *l.* for the present Subsistence of the Land-Forces, should be repaid with Interest, at 6 *per Cent*, out of the first Aids. In the mean Time, all possible Expedition was used for equipping out a Fleet; and a Proclamation issued to encourage Seamen to enter on board the Royal Navy; the Commons having voted, That 40,000 Men should be raised for the Sea-Service, and the same Number for the Land-Service, to act in Conjunction with the Allies.

His Death.

But his Majesty's Death which happened on the 8th of *March* 1703, obliges us to refer our Readers to the History of the succeeding Reign, for the Effects of this great Armament. There they will see the Earl of *Marlborough* advanced to be Captain-General, upon the Recommendation of the late King; a War proclaimed and carried on with a Series of Success, that has hardly been parallell'd; Parliaments, and even Sovereigns, conspiring in raising Monuments to the Honour of our Hero; and Poets, among whom Mr. *Prior* was not the least considerable, sacrificing to his Glory those immortal Oblations, which the Muses have in Store for the first of Men. It is only with a View to the Poems he wrote on these Occasions, and the Negotiations in which he was afterwards concerned, that I shall take notice of what passed in some of the Campaigns: War being

ing no more the proper Subject of this Work, than it was the Business of Mr. PRIOR's Life. We find in this Reign, as in the former, that while *Bellona* raged in the Field, he continually put himself under the Protection of *Pallas* and the harmonious Sisters, and was contented with only appearing now and then as a Poet : But when Peace held forth her Olive-Branch, and the jarring Nations were inclined to receive her ; he was again employed in the most important Affairs, the carrying of his Sovereign's Warrants.

His *Letter to Monsieur Boileau Despreaux*, occasioned by the Victory at *Blenheim* 1704, and his *Ode humbly inscribed to the Queen on the glorious Success of her Majesty's Arms* 1706, written in Imitation of *Spenser's Style*, are both of them exquisitely fine, though in very different Tastes.

The former is a Composition of a very peculiar Sort, comprising the various Beauties of a familiar Epistle, a genteel Satire, and an epic Poem. In the latter, as his Preface informs us, he has copied the Warmth of an *Horatian* Ode in the Style and Numbers of our Countryman *Spenser* ; having only added one Verse to his Stanza, which he thought made the Number more harmonious. At the End of this Preface, after having drawn the Characters of his 'two great Examples', he declares, (as most good Poets have done at some Time or other of their Lives, and kept their Words in the same Manner,) 'That it is long since he has (or at least ought to have) quitted *Parnassus*, and all the flowery Roads on that side the Country ; though he thought himself indispensably obliged, upon the present Occasion, to take a little Journey into those Parts.'

The Victory at *Blenheim*, which makes the Subject of the first of these Poems, is one of the most remarkable in History : And there cannot be a shorter, or better Account of it given, than in the Words of the General who won it. He writes

writes thus to Mr. Secretary *Harley* on the 14th of *August* 1704, the Day after the Battlẽ.

S I R,

Duke of
Marlbo-
rough's Let-
ter on the
Battle at
Blenheim.

I GAVE you an Account on *Sunday* of the Situation we were then in, and that we expected to hear the Enemy would pass the *Danube* at *Laßwingen*, in order to attack Prince *Eugene*. At Eleven that Night we had an Express from him that the Enemy was come over, and desiring he might be re-inforced as soon as possible. Whereupon I ordered my Brother *Churchill* to advance at one o'Clock in the Morning with his twenty Battalions, and by Three the whole Army was in Motion. For the greater Expedition, I ordered part of the Troops to pass over the *Danube*, and to follow the March of the twenty Battalions; and with most of the Horse and Foot of the first Line, I passed the *Lech* at *Rain*, and came over the *Danube* at *Donawert*; so that we all join'd the Prince that Night, intending to advance and take this Camp of *Hockstet*: In order whereto, we went out on *Tuesday*, early in the Morning, with forty Squadrons, to view the Ground; but found the Enemy had already possessed themselves of it: Whereupon we resolved to attack them; and accordingly we marched between Three and Four Yesterday Morning from the Camp at *Munster*, leaving all our Tents standing. About Six we came in View of the Enemy, who, we found, did not expect so early a Visit: The Cannon began to play about half an Hour after eight. They formed themselves into two Bodies; the Elector, with Monsieur *Marfin*, and their Troops, on our Right; and Monsieur *de Tallard*, with all his, on our Left; which last fell to my Share: They had two little Rivulets, besides a Morass, before them, which we were obliged to pass over in their View; and Prince *Eugene* was forced to take a great compass to come

' to the Enemy ; so that it was one o'Clock before
 ' the Battle began. It lasted with great Vigour
 ' till Sun-set, when the Enemy was obliged to
 ' retire ; and, by the Blessing of God, we obtain-
 ' ed a complete Victory. We have cut off great
 ' Numbers of them, as well in the Action, as in
 ' the Retreat, besides upwards of thirty Squa-
 ' drons of the *French*, which I pushed into the
 ' *Danube*, where he saw the greatest part of them
 ' perish ; Monsieur *de Tallard*, with several of
 ' his General Officers, being taken Prisoners at
 ' the same Time : And, in the Village of *Blen-
 ' heim*, which the Enemy had entrenched and
 ' fortified, and where they made the greatest
 ' Opposition, I oblig'd twenty-six entire Battali-
 ' ons, and twelve Squadrons of Dragoons, to
 ' surrender themselves Prisoners at Discretion.
 ' We took likewise all their Tents standing, with
 ' their Cannon and Ammunition, as also a great
 ' Number of Standards, Kettle-Drums, and Co-
 ' lours, in the Action ; so that I reckon the great-
 ' est part of Monsieur *Tallard's* Army is taken or
 ' destroyed. The Bravery of all our Troops on
 ' this Occasion cannot be expressed ; the Gene-
 ' rals, as well as the Officers and Soldiers, be-
 ' having themselves with the greatest Courage
 ' and Resolution. The Horse and Dragoons
 ' were obliged to charge four or five several
 ' Times. The Elector, and Monsieur *de Marsin*,
 ' were so advantageously posted, that Prince *Eu-
 ' gene* could make no Impression on them till the
 ' third Attack at near Seven at Night, when he
 ' made a great Slaughter of them ; but, being
 ' near a Wood-side, a good Body of *Bavarians*
 ' retired into it, and the rest of the Army re-
 ' treated towards *La-wingen* ; it being too late,
 ' and the Troops too much tired, to pursue them
 ' far. I cannot say too much in Praise of that
 ' Prince's good Conduct and the Bravery of his
 ' Troops, upon this Occasion. You will please
 ' to lay this before her Majesty and his Royal
 ' High-

‘ Highness, to whom I send my Lord *Tunbridge* with the good News. I pray you will likewise inform yourself, and let me know her Majesty’s Pleasure, as well relating to Monsieur *de Tallard*, and the other General Officers, as the Disposal of near twelve hundred other Officers, and between eight and nine thousand common Soldiers; who being all made Prisoners by her Majesty’s Troops, are entirely at her Disposal. But, as the Charge of subsisting these Officers and Men must be very great, I presume her Majesty will be inclined that they be exchanged for any other Prisoners that offer.

‘ I should likewise be glad to receive her Majesty’s Directions for the Disposal of the Standards and Colours, whereof I have not yet the Number; but guess there cannot be less than an hundred, which is more than has been taken in any Battle these many Years. You will easily believe, that, in so long and vigorous an Action, the *English*, who had so great a Share in it, must have suffered, as well in Officers, as Men; but I have not the Particulars.’ *

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

* In this Battle the Enemy’s Loss was computed to be between twenty and thirty thousand Men, killed or taken: The Confederates also took upwards of 100 Pieces of Cannon, 24 Mortars, 129 Colours, 171 Standards, 17 Pair of Kettle Drums, 3600 Tents, 34 Coaches, 300 laden Mules, 24 Barrels, and 8 Casks of Silver. Of the Confederates there were about 4500 Men killed, and 7500 wounded.

The

The Consequences of this Victory were the entire Reduction of all *Bavaria* to the Emperor's Obedience, the taking of *Ulm*, *Landau*, *Triers*, *Traerbach*, and the Recovery of almost all that had been lost to the *French* during their late Successes.

Mr. PRIOR's Epistle to Boileau.

Mr. Boileau, in his eighth Epistle, which begins,

Grand Roi, cesse de vaincre, ou je cesse d'ecrire,

Had informed his Sovereign of the great Difficulties he lay under to describe his numerous and wonderful Conquests. Sometimes, says he, in the *Ardour of my Zeal*, I endeavour to measure out the *Syllables of an Ode*; at others, I boldly form the *Plan of a sublime Æneid*. Thus, continually flattered by a pleasing Madness, I perceive my Genius daily to decrease; and that my Verses, without Spirit or Beauty, dishonour my Pen, and do no Honour to Thee. He then humbly informs his Majesty, that it would be but reasonable to give him Breath for one Year, at least, that his Muse might recover her Vigour, and atone for the Opportunities she had lost.

With what an agreeable Sneer does Mr. PRIOR allude to this extravagant, though artful Stretch of Flattery, and perhaps to other Passages of an equal Strain, in the Beginning of his Epistle.

Since hir'd for Life, thy servile Muse must sing
Successive Conquests, and a glorious King;
Must of a Man immortal vainly boast,
And bring him Laurels, whatsoe'er they cost:
What Turn wilt thou employ, what Colours lay
On the Event of that superior Day,
In which one *English* Subject's prosp'rous Hand
(So *Jove* did will; so *Anna* did command)
Broke the proud Column of thy Master's Praise,
Which sixty Winters had conspir'd to raise?

From

From the lost Field a hundred Standards
brought
Must be the Work of Chance, and Fortune's
Fault :

Bavaria's Stars must be accus'd, which shone, }
That fatal Day the mighty work was done, }
With Rays oblique upon the *Gallic* Sun. }
Some *Dæmon* envying *France* misled the Fight :
And *Mars* mistook, tho' *Louis* order'd right.

But the Verses that follow are an inimitable
Piece of Raillery on the *Frenchman's* fourth
Epistle, in which he complains that the King did
not consider his Poet in his Campaigns, but un-
kindly took Places in Fact, which could not pos-
sibly be taken in Rhyme.

When thy young Muse invok'd the tuneful
Nine,

To say how *Louis* did not pass the *Rhine*,
What Work had we with *Wageningen*, *Arnheim*,
Places that could not be reduc'd to Rhyme ?
And tho' the Poet made his last Efforts,
Wurts—who could mention in Heroic—*Wurts* ?
But, tell me, hast thou Reason to complain
Of the rough Triumphs of the last Campaign ?
The *Danube* rescu'd, and the Empire sav'd,
Say, is the Majesty of Verse retriev'd ?
And would it prejudice thy softer Vein,
To sing the Princes, *Louis* and *Eugene* ?
Is it too hard in happy Verse to place
The *Vans* and *Vanders* of the *Rhine* and *Maes* ?
Her Warriors *Anna* sends from *Tweed* and
Thames,

That *France* may fall by more harmonious Names.
Can'st thou not *Hamilton* or *Lumley* bear ?
Would *Ingoldsby* or *Palmer* offend thy Ear ?
And is there not a Sound in *Marlbro's* Name,
Which Thou and all thy Brethren ought to }
claim, }

Sacred to Verse, and sure of endless Fame ? }

How-

However, though the Names of his Heroes are tuneful enough, Mr. PRIOR pleasantly owns that there are some Particulars in this Victory which cannot be rendered so harmonious. Who does not perceive the Beauty of these seemingly unpolish'd Lines ?

I grant, old Friend, old Foe (or such We are
Alternate, as the Chance of Peace and War)
That we poetic Folks, who must restrain
Our measur'd Sayings in an equal Chain,
Have Troubles utterly unknown to those,
Who let their Fancy loose in rambling Prose.

For Instance now, how hard it is for Me
To make my Matter and my Verse agree :
In one great Day on Hochstet's fatal Plain
French and Bavarians twenty thousand slain, &c.

In this Manner he runs on; till he has given us what he calls *a Commissary's List in Verse* ; to the Poetry of which he brings an Objection from his Antagonist, and thus answers it.

Why Faith, *Despreaux*, there's Sense in what
you say :
I told you where my Difficulty lay :
So vast, so numerous, were great *Blenheim's*
Spoils,
They scorn the Bounds of Verse, and mock the
Muse's Toils.
To make the rough Recital aptly chime,
Or bring the Sum of *Gallia's* Loss to Rhime,
'Tis mighty hard.——

Yet in the midst of these Pleasantries, he generously acknowledges the Merit of his Adversary, and wishes poetically for what he really possessed, a Genius equal to the Praises of his Queen, and her victorious General.

O Poet,

The HISTORY of

O Poet, had it been *Apollo's* Will,
That I had shar'd a Portion of thy Skill ;
Had this poor Breast receiv'd the heav'nly Beam,
Or could I hope my Verse might reach my
Theam ;

Yet, *Boileau*, yet the lab'ring Muse should strive,
Beneath the Shades of *Marlbro's* Wreaths to live :
Should call aspiring Gods to bless her Choice ;
And to their Fav'rite's Strain exalt her Voice,
Arms and a Queen to sing ; who, Great and
Good,
From peaceful *Thames* to *Danube's* wond'ring
Flood

Sent for the Terror of her high Commands,
To save the Nations from invading Hands,
To prop fair Liberty's declining Cause,
And fix the jarring World with equal Laws.

There cannot be a better Instance of his Abilities for the Undertaking he modestly declines, that in the noble Plan of an Heroic Poem which he has annex'd to this Address. It contains near an hundred Verses, that are equally elegant and sublime. After which he concludes in the true Spirit of an *Englishman*.

But we must change the Style.—Just now
I said,

I ne'er was Master of the tuneful Trade :
Or the small Genius which my Youth could boast,
In Prose and Business lies extinct and lost.
Bless'd, if I may some younger Muse excite ;
Point out the Game, and animate the Flight :
'That from *Marseilles* to *Calais France* may
know,

As we have Conqu'rors, we have Poets too ;
And either Laurel does in *Britain* grow :
That, tho' amongst ourselves, with too much
Heat,

We sometimes wrangle, when we should debate ;
(A con-

(A consequential Ill, which Freedom draws ;
 A bad Effect, but from a noble Cause)
 We can with universal Zeal advance,
 To curb the faithless Arrogance of *France*.
 Nor ever shall *Britannia's* Sons refuse
 To answer to thy Master, or thy Muse ;
 Nor want just Subject for victorious Strains,
 While *Marlbro's* Arm eternal Laurel gains ;
 And where old *Spencer* sung, a new *Elisa* reigns. }

Mr. PRIOR's other political Poem, on the Success of her Majesty's Arms in the Year 1706, obliges me to give a short History of that Campaign, as I did before of the Victory of *Blenheim*.

' The Duke of *Marlborough* arrived at the The Campaign in Flanders, 1706.
Hague the 4th of *April*, O. S. and, having concerted the Operations of the Campaign with the States, took the Field about a Fortnight after. The *French*, who made great Advantages the last War by early Campaigns, had this Spring formed a Design to surprize the Duke of *Marlborough*, before the *Danes* and *Prussians* had join'd him ; and thereupon the Elector of *Bavaria* and Marshal *Villeroy* pass'd the *Dyle* the Beginning of *May*, and advanced directly towards the Confederate Army: The Duke of *Marlborough*, who was seldom surpriz'd for want of Intelligence of the Enemies Motions, being appriz'd of their Design, dispatch'd an Express to the *Danish* Troops to join him ; and they arriv'd within a League of his Camp the 22d of *May*, N. S.

' The Enemies Army consisted of seventy-six Battalions and one hundred and thirty-two Squadrons, and the Confederate Army of seventy-four Battalions and one hundred and twenty-three Squadrons: They came to an Engagement the Day following ; of which Colonel *Edwards*, Aid-de-Camp to the Duke of *Marlborough*,

‘ *borough*, brought the following Relation to her Majesty.

The Battle
of *Ramillies*
on Sunday
12th of
May, O. S.

‘ On *Saturday* the 11th Instant, O. S. the confederate Army decamped from *Borebloen*, and march’d to *Gros Warem*; the *Danish* Troops came up with our Rear, and encamped at a small Distance from us: Here we had Advice, that the Enemy, who, being join’d by the Horse of the *Mareschal de Marfin*’s Army, and depending on the Superiority of their Numbers, were lately come out of their Lines, and had made a Motion, extending their Right towards *Judoigne*.

‘ My Lord Duke and Monsieur d’ *Auverquerque*, relying upon the Goodness of their Troops, resolved to advance towards the Enemy; and accordingly on *Sunday* the 12th, about Three in the Morning, the Army march’d in eight Columns towards *Ramillies*, a Village where the *Gheete* takes its Source, that we might avoid the Inconvenience of passing that River. Being advanced near the said Village, we found the Enemy getting into the Camp of *Mount St. André*, and placing their Right to the *Mebaign*.

‘ This River flows about half a League from *Ramillies*, the Ground between them being open and level: The *Gheete* runs from *Ramillies* to *Autreglise*, thro’ a marshy Ground; and beyond *Autreglise* the River grows wide, and the Ground is unpassable.

‘ The Enemy had posted a Brigade of Foot next to the *Mebaign*, and filled the Space between that and *Ramillies*, with upwards of one hundred Squadrons, among which were the Troops of the *French* King’s Household. At *Ramillies* they had above twenty Battalions of Foot, with about twelve Pieces of treble Cannon: From thence to *Autreglise* they had formed a Line of Foot along the *Gheete*, with
‘ a Line

a Line of Horſe at ſome diſtance behind them.

His Grace judging, by the Situation of the Ground, that the Streſs of the Action would be on our Left, ordered that, beſides the Number of Horſe belonging to that Wing, the *Daniſh* Squadrons, being twenty in Number, ſhould alſo be poſted there. It was about Two in the Afternoon before our Army could be formed in Order of Battle ; and then we began the Attack on our Left with four Battalions, which pushed the Brigade of Foot above-mentioned from their Poſt on the *Mehaign*. *Monſieur d'Auverquerque* about the ſame Time charged with the Horſe of that Wing. The Succeſs was doubtful about half an Hour ; which the Duke of *Marlborough* perceiving, ordered the reſt of the Horſe of the Right Wing (except the *Engliſh*, who were ſeventeen Squadrons) to ſupport thoſe on the Left.

Here, while his Grace was rallying ſome, and giving his Orders for others to charge, he was in very great Danger, being ſingled out by ſeveral of the Reſoluteſt of the Enemy ; and, falling from his Horſe at the ſame Time, had either been killed or taken Priſoner, if ſome of our Foot, that were near at hand, had not come very ſeaſonably to his Grace's Aſſiſtance, and obliged the Enemy to retire. After this, my Lord Duke had ſtill a greater Eſcape ; a Cannon-Ball having taken off Colonel *Bingley's* Head as he was remounting his Grace.

The Village of *Ramillies* was attacked by a Detachment of twelve Battalions of Foot, commanded by Lieutenant General *Schutz*, which entered at once with great Vigour and Reſolution : His Grace haſten'd our Line of Foot thither, to ſupport them ; which, though it was at a great Diſtance, yet came up ſoon enough to beat the Enemy quite out of the Village ; and at the ſame Time charged the

rest of their Foot that were posted behind the *Gheete*, as is above-mentioned ; and my Lord Duke ordered the *English* Horse to support them.

By this Time the Enemies Right Wing of Horse being entirely defeated, the Horse of our Left fell upon the Foot of their Right ; of whom they slew great Numbers, cutting to pieces about twenty of their Battalions, whose Colours they took, and likewise their Cannon. The rest of the Enemies Foot were entirely broken : The Horse of their Left Wing seemed to make a Stand, to gain Time for their Foot to retire ; but were charged so quick, and with so much Bravery by the *English* Horse, that they entirely abandon'd their Foot ; and our Dragoons, pushing into the Village of *Autreglise*, made a terrible Slaughter of them. The *French* King's own Regiment of Foot, called the Regiment *du Roy*, begged for Quarter, and delivered up their Arms and Colours to the Lord *John Hays's* Dragoons.

We pursued the Enemy all Night, by the Way of *Judoigne*, as far as *Meldre* ; being five Leagues from the Place where the Action happened, and two from *Louvain*.

Consequences of it.

This Victory, at the Opening of the Campaign, was attended with more numerous happy Consequences to the Allies, than any other during the whole War. *Louvain*, whither the Elector of *Bavaria* and Mareschal *Villeroy* retired after the Battle, was abandoned to the Allies the next Morning. And three Days after the Magistrates of *Brussels*, their next Place of Retreat, sent their Submission to his Grace. In short, the victorious Army took Possession of *Ghent*, *Oudenarde*, *Bruges*, *Antwerp*, and *Coutray*, without Opposition : And the States both of *Brabant* and *Flanders* acknowledged the Arch-duke, by

by the Title of *Charles III. King of Spain, Osend, Menin, Dendermond, and Aeth*, were all invested and taken the same Summer.

It was no Wonder that such an uncommon Mr. PRIOR's Ode on the Occasion. Series of Conquest should stagger the Resolution Mr. PRIOR had taken, and oblige him to resume his neglected Lyre. And how admirably he has transfused into his Ode the *impetuous Heat of Horace*, and all the Graces of *Spencer's* Diction, must be obvious to every judicious Reader. I believe we may ascribe it to this Piece, that we have since had so many Imitations of our ancient Poets: For I do not remember that any of our Moderns wrote in this Way before Mr. PRIOR, nor that he has done it in any Thing anterior to the Ode we are now upon. Observe with what Dignity he leads forth his Hero to the Field, in the fifth and sixth Stanza, after having proposed the Subject of his Poem, and addressed it to her Majesty.

As the strong Eagle in the silent Wood,
Mindless of Warlike Rage, and hostile Care,
Plays round the rocky Cliff, or crystal Flood;
'Till by *Jove's* high Behests call'd out to War,
And charg'd with Thunder of his angry King,
His Bosom with the vengeful Message glows:
Upward the noble Bird directs his Wing;
And tow'ring round his Master's Earth-born
Foes,
Swift he collects his fatal Stock of Ire;
Lifts his fierce Talon high, and dares the forked
Fire.

Sedate and calm thus Victor *Marlbro'* fate,
Shaded with Laurels, in his Native Land;
'Till *Anna* calls Him from his soft Retreat,
And gives her Second Thunder to his Hand.

Then leaving sweet Repose, and gentle Ease,
 With ardent Speed he seeks the distant Foe :
 Marching o'er Hills and Vales, o'er Rocks and
 Seas,

He meditates, and strikes the wond'rous Blow.
 Our Thought flies slower than our General's
 Fame :

Grasps he the Bolt ? (we ask) when he has hurl'd
 the Flame.

But when he comes to bring on the Foe to the
 Charge ; to shew us *Marlborough* and *Auverquerque*
 at the Head of their Troops, sustaining the
 Shock ; to display the Passions of the *English*
 Soldiers at their General's Fall, and the fierce
 Exultation of the Elector of *Bavaria* on the
 same Occasion ; when he describes *Conquest* as a
 constant Inhabitant in *Marlborough's* Camp, and
 sets before us the Flight and Pursuit ; in what
 admirable Colours does he paint every Circum-
 stance !

And now fierce *Gallia* rushes on her Foes,
 Her Force augmented by the *Boyan* Bands:
 So *Volga's* Stream, increas'd by Mountain Snows,
 Rolls with new Fury down thro' *Russia's* Lands.
 Like two great Rocks against the raging Tide
 (If Virtue's Force with Nature's we compare)
 Unmov'd the two united Chiefs abide,
 Sustain the Impulse, and receive the War.
 Round their firm Sides in vain the Tempest
 beats ;
 And still the foaming Wave with lessen'd Pow'r
 retreats.

The Rage dispers'd, the glorious Pair advance,
 With mingled Anger, and collected Might,
 To turn the War, and tell aggressing *France*,
 How *Britain's* Sons, and *Britain's* Friends can
 fight.

On Conquest fix'd, and covetous of Fame,
Behold them rushing thro' the *Gallic* Host.
Thro' standing Corn so runs the sudden Flame,
Or eastern Winds along *Sicilia's* Coast.
They deal their Terrors to the adverse Nation:
Pale Death attends their Arms, and ghastly De-
solation.

But while with fiercest Ire *Bellona* glows,
And *Europe* rather hopes than fears her Fate;
While *Britain* presses her afflicted Foes;
What Horror damps the Strong, and quells the
Great?
Whence look the Soldiers Cheeks dismay'd and
pale?
Ere ever dreadful, know they now to dread?
The hostile Troops, I ween, almost prevail;
And the Pursuers only not recede.
Alas! their lessen'd Rage proclaims their Grief!
For anxious, lo! they croud around their falling
Chief.

I thank thee, Fate, exclaims the fierce *Bavar*;
Let *Boya's* Trumpet grateful *Io's* sound:
I saw him fall, their Thunderbolt of War:—
Ever to Vengeance sacred be the Ground—
Vain Wish! short Joy! the Hero mounts again
In greater Glory, and with fuller Light.
The Ev'ning Star so falls into the Main,
To rise at Morn more prevalently bright.
He rises safe: But near, too near his Side,
A good Man's grievous Loss, a faithful Servant
dy'd.

Propitious *Mars!* the Battle is regain'd:
The Foe with lessen'd Wrath disputes the Field:
The *Briton* fights, by fav'ring Gods sustain'd:
Freedom must live; and lawless Power must
yield.

Vain now the Tales which fab'ling Poets tell,
 That wav'ring *Conquest* still desires to rove !
 In *Marlbro's* Camp the Goddess knows to dwell :
 Long as the Hero's Life remains her Love.
 Again *France* flies: Again the Duke pursues
 And on *Ramillia's* Plains he *Blenheim's* Fame
 renews.

His Picture of the *Bavarian* Prince in another Place, and Exposition with him on his present Misfortunes is altogether sublime. The Speech he puts into the Mouth of the *Royal Treaty Breaker*, as he calls the *French* King, upon receiving the News of his Army's Defeat, wherein he recapitulates the Honours of the *British* Nation, and owns the Superiority of the *Woman Chief*, is also finely wrought up. And the Column he erects at the End of his Poem, to the Honour of his Mistress and her Commanders, will out-last the stateliest Monument of Brass or Marble. But these being too long to transcribe, I must refer the Reader to the Ode itself, and proceed with our History.

The prodigious Losses sustained by the *French* in this and the preceding Campaigns, obliged them, in the Winter, to make Overtures of Peace to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the States-General. On his Grace's Arrival at the *Hague* in *December*, a Letter from the Elector of *Bavaria* to him, and another to the Field-Deputies with their respective Answers, were communicated to the Ministers of the rest of the Allies. As these were the first public Advances that were made towards that general Pacification, in which Mr. PRIOR was some Years after concerned, I shall insert the Letter to the Duke, with his Answer. The other Letter and Answer are of the same Tenour.

“ THE most Christian King, Sir, finding, The Elector of Bavaria's Letter to the Duke of Marlborough proposing a Treaty of Peace.
 “ that some Overtures of Peace, which
 “ he had caused to be made by private Ways,
 “ had, instead of producing the Effect of mak-
 “ ing known his Dispositions for promoting a ge-
 “ neral Peace, been looked upon, by ill-designing
 “ Persons, as an Artifice to disunite the Allies,
 “ and make an Advantage of the Misunder-
 “ standing that might be created among them,
 “ has resolved to shew the Sincerity of his In-
 “ tentions, by renouncing all secret Negotiati-
 “ ons, and openly proposing Conferences, in
 “ which Means may be found for re-establish-
 “ ing the Tranquillity of *Europe*.

“ The most Christian King is pleased to com-
 “ mission me to inform you of this, and to de-
 “ fire you to acquaint the Queen of *England*
 “ with it.

“ I give the like Notification on the part of the
 “ most Christian King to the States-General, by
 “ a Letter I have written to the Field-Deputies;
 “ and he would do the like with regard to the
 “ other Potentates that are at War with him,
 “ had they Ministers so near at hand as you
 “ are to receive the like Intimation; he hav-
 “ ing no Design to exclude any of the said Po-
 “ tentates from the Negotiation, that shall be
 “ begun in the Conferences he proposes.

“ Farther, for the advancing a Good so great
 “ and necessary to *Europe*, which has too long
 “ suffered the inevitable Calamities of War; he
 “ consents, that a Place may forthwith be cho-
 “ sen between the two Armies, and after their
 “ Separation between *Mons* and *Brussels*; in
 “ which, with you, Sir, *with whom the Interests*
 “ *of England are so safely entrusted*, the Depu-
 “ ties the States shall please to nominate, and
 “ the Persons whom the King of *France* shall
 “ empower, they may open their Intentions up-
 “ on so important an Affair. I am extremely

“ pleased, Sir, to have such an Occasion to
 “ make you this Overture ; being persuaded, it
 “ will leave no room for making a Doubt of
 “ the Sentiments of his most Christian Maje-
 “ sty ; and, as it may be so beneficial to all
 “ Europe, you will be glad to give an Account
 “ of this to the Queen of England, without
 “ Loss of Time, and to whomsoever else you
 “ shall think fit. I shall expect your Answer,
 “ Sir, to communicate it to the most Christian
 “ King, and shall be always ready, Sir, to do
 “ you Service.

Sign'd

Mons, October 21, 1706.

M. EMANUEL, Elector.

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH'S Answer.

S I R,

The Duke
 of Marlbo-
 rough's An-
 swer.

“ HAVING communicated to the Queen,
 “ my Mistress, what your Electoral High-
 “ ness did me the Honour to write to me in
 “ your Letter of the 21st of last Month, of the
 “ Intentions of the most Christian King to en-
 “ deavour to re-establish the Tranquillity of
 “ Europe, by Conference to be held for that
 “ Purpose between Deputies on both Sides; Her
 “ Majesty has commanded me to answer your
 “ Electoral Highness, that it is a Pleasure to
 “ her to be informed of the King's Inclinations
 “ to agree to the making of a solid and lasting
 “ Peace with all the Allies. As this is the
 “ sole End, that obliges her Majesty to conti-
 “ nue this War till now ; so she will be very
 “ glad to conclude it, in concert with all her
 “ Allies, on Conditions that may secure them
 “ from all Apprehensions of being forced to
 “ take up Arms again, after a short Interval,
 “ as happened last Time. Her Majesty is also
 “ willing I should declare, that she is ready to
 “ enter

“ enter jointly, with all the High Allies, into
“ just and necessary Measures for settling such a
“ Peace; her Majesty being determined, not
“ to enter upon any Negotiation without the
“ Participation of her said Allies; but the Way
“ of Conferences, that is proposed, without
“ more particular Declarations on the Part of
“ his most Christian Majesty, does not seem pro-
“ per to her for attaining a truly solid and last-
“ ing Peace. Their Lordships the States-Ge-
“ nerals are of the same Opinion; therefore
“ your Electoral Highness will rightly judge,
“ that it is necessary to think of other more
“ solid Means to attain so great an End; to
“ which her Majesty will contribute with all
“ the Sincerity, that can be shewed; having
“ nothing so much at Heart as the Relief of
“ her Subjects, and the Tranquillity of *Europe*.
“ Your Electoral Highness will always do me
“ the Justice to be persuaded of the Respect,
“ with which I have the Honour to be, &c.

Hague, Nov. 20. 1706.

The War at this Time carrying on, was no doubt a just one on the part of the Allies: But it seems unaccountable that they should not hearken to Proposals of Peace, when made openly by the common Enemy. As it will be very much my Business, in the remaining Part of this Work, to defend the Accommodation that was afterwards agreed on, I shall, as I go on, give my Readers the Reflections that have been made on these Letters, and all the other Negotiations of Peace that were not effectual. The grand Charge against the Queen's last Ministry, among whom we must number Mr. PRIOR, was the making a dishonourable Peace; and the Negotiations of this Treaty were the chief Subject of Inquiry in the Secret Committee, before whom we shall see Mr. PRIOR examined: But

If we shall make it appear, that far from being improper at that Time, a Peace was long before highly necessary, and might have been made with the greatest Advantage to the Allies, it will complete Mr. PRIOR's Vindication of the Measures then taken; in his Answer to *The Report of the secret Committee*, which, so far as he carried it, will be inserted in its proper Place at large, from a Manuscript corrected by himself.

I will only make one Remark before I proceed; which is, that if Mr. PRIOR, or the Authors I quote in his Behalf, should not treat the Duke of Marlborough's Conduct in what follows with all that Respect, and even Veneration that appears in the foregoing Poems, it ought to be attributed to the manifest Alteration that was discovered in his Grace's Conduct, and his seeming Backwardness to conclude the War, after he had, to all Appearance, obtained the Ends for which it was undertaken. Mr. PRIOR's Attachment to any particular Man, could not make him forego his real Principles; which led him to pursue the Peace and Happiness, rather than the Honour and Reputation of his Country.

Remarks on
the foregoing
Letters.

* It appears from the foregoing Letters *, that there had been a secret Negotiation carried on between the *French*, the Deputies, and his Grace, and Terms had been offered; but it was not thought convenient to accept of them, or to publish any thing more relating to the Treaty, than these Letters: But, as this Overture for a Treaty is said to have been intended only to amuse and divide the Allies, surely we might have entered into a Treaty, whether we had liked their Terms, or not, if it had been only to amuse the Ene-

* Modern History, Vol. XXV. p. 342.

my, and prevent the Loss of that Part of
Spain that had declared for King CHARLES,
till we could have sent a Body of Troops to
their Protection: For our Ministers were not
ignorant at that Time, That the French and
Spaniards were superior to the Allies in that
Kingdom: That the Confederate Army had
already been forced to abandon the Towns in
Castile that had declared for King CHARLES,
and leave the miserable Natives to the Mercy
of the Enemy: That the remaining Provinces
of Arragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, which
the Allies yet possessed, would also proba-
bly be compelled to submit to King PHILIP
again the next Campaign, by the Superiority
of Troops that Prince had already, as well
as by the great Re-inforcements the French
King was sending to Spain, now the War in
Italy was at an End; for we took very little
Care, to re-inforce our Army either from
England or Italy, from whence twenty or thir-
ty thousand Men might have been sent this
Winter, and have established King CHARLES
on that Throne, and thereby have put an End
to the War at once, if this had been our De-
sign. The Lord Peterborough was so sensible
of this Neglect, and of the great Preparations
the French King was making to fix his Grand-
son on the Throne of Spain, that he wrote the
most moving Letters to the Court of England,
not to abandon that People and their own Troops
to inevitable Destruction; and actually made a
Voyage to Italy, where the Confederates had
at this Time upwards of sixty thousand Men
(and no Enemy that durst appear in the Field)
in order to procure a Re-inforcement of Troops,
and at the same time begged of the Confede-
rate Generals in Spain, to remain upon the
Defensive, till a Body of Troops could be
sent over: foreseeing they could not resist the
United Forces of France and Spain, if a Battle
happened

‘ happened, before they received fresh Supplies.
 ‘ But the Allies neither took care to send Forces
 ‘ in time, to defend the *Spaniards* that had de-
 ‘ clared for them; nor would enter into a
 ‘ Treaty of Peace, whereby they might have
 ‘ preserved the Provinces they possessed in *Spain*,
 ‘ till a Re-inforcement had been got ready: To
 ‘ which stupid or treacherous Conduct we may
 ‘ justly ascribe the Loss of that Kingdom; for
 ‘ when this People had been so exceeding for-
 ‘ ward to declare for us, and found themselves
 ‘ deserted and abandoned to the Rage of their
 ‘ incensed Prince, they could never be prevail-
 ‘ ed on to rely on the Honour of the Allies a
 ‘ second time.

‘ But farther, it is evident from some Letters
 ‘ and Papers that the Allies published themselves
 ‘ this Winter, that they might then have had
 ‘ a Peace that would have answered all the Ends
 ‘ of the Grand Alliance, and even have obtain-
 ‘ ed a great deal more than the Confederates
 ‘ proposed to themselves at the Beginning of
 ‘ the War, if that would have contented them.

The French
 offer to yield
 all that was
 demanded by
 the Allies at
 the Begin-
 ning of the
 War.

‘ In a Letter, said to be written by Monsieur
Chamillard, Secretary to the *French* King, to
 the Duke of *Berwick*, Captain-General of the
French Forces in *Castile*, and said to be inter-
 ‘ cepted by the Allies, are these Expressions:
 ‘ The ill Success of our Armies in *Flanders* and
 ‘ *Italy*, hath obliged his Majesty to make Over-
 ‘ tures of Peace, not very agreeable to the Ho-
 ‘ nour and Interest of *France*. The support-
 ‘ ing *Spain* may be the ruin of *France*; to pre-
 ‘ vent which, the King hath resolved to hearken
 ‘ to the hard and unsufferable Terms of Peace.
 ‘ Whilst his Majesty’s Ministers are in Treaty,
 ‘ it will be necessary to quit *Spain*; and that
 ‘ your Excellency use all Artifices to ruin the
 ‘ Country, that it be not in a Condition for
 ‘ many Years to think of any Thing more, than

to repair its own Losses, and be incapable of defending itself alone.

The second Letter, published by the Allies, was that from the *French* King to the Pope; wherein that Monarch tells his Holiness, that the King of *Spain*, his Grandson, had entrusted him with Powers to transfer to the Archduke (King CHARLES III) Part of the Dominions which compose the *Spanish* Monarchy: That the Catholick King had the Hearts of the true *Spaniards*, and contented himself to reign over them: He was willing to relinquish the *Milanese*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, with the other Islands in the *Mediterranean* belonging to *Spain*, to the Archduke; and that they should be for ever united to the House of *Austria*: That he was ready also to give the *United Provinces* a Barrier: And thus the two Pretences of the War being removed, an End might be put to the Misfortunes *Europe* had so long groaned under.

But, as the Battle of *Blenheim* had given the Allies Hopes of making an entire Conquest of the *Spanish* Dominions; so the Victories of *Ramillies* and *Turin* had inspired them with a Resolution of continuing the War till *France*, was conquered, as will abundantly be evident from the Operations of the succeeding Campaign: And thus, by grasping at too much, the Allies lost what they had already gained.

The succeeding Campaign, here referred to, was Campaign indeed very unlike that we have last described. of 1707. The Battle of *Almanza* was lost in *Spain*, to the Ruin of King CHARLES's Affairs in that Kingdom. The Emperor was unsuccessful upon the *Rhine*, and it was even with Difficulty that he defended his Hereditary Dominions, without sending any Forces into *Flanders*. In this latter Place the Dukes of *Marlborough* and *Vendosme*, each of them at the Head of an hundred thousand

land Men, spent their Time in looking upon one another, without attempting to come to an Engagement. An Enterprize was concerted against *Toulon*, the best Harbour in *France*, and where most of the Royal Navy is laid up: But tho' the Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene* conducted it by Land, and had the Assistance of Sir *Cloudesley Shovel* with his Fleet, the whole came to nothing.

Remarks on
the Cam-
paign of
1707.

From a Letter of the Earl of *Peterborough's* to the *Portuguese* Ambassador in King *CHARLES's* Court, written before the fatal Battle of *Almanza*, and a Memorial presented after it to her *Britannic* Majesty by the Imperial and *Spanish* Ministers, * it appears, That his Catholic Majesty, and the *Germans* about him, as well as the Earl of *Peterborough*, were against fighting, till fresh Succours should arrive. It is also certain, that there was no Necessity of fighting; for they had Forces enough to defend the Frontiers of *Valencia* and *Arragon*, and might have been supported and supplied with Provisions by the *English* Fleet, then in the *Mediterranean*; but the chief Command, as well as the Post of Honour, being yielded by the Earl of *Galway* to the *Portuguese*; and the Earl concurring with the Marquis *das Minas* in all his Projects, neglected entirely the Advice both of the King and the Earl of *Peterborough*; who, not thinking it for the Honour of the *German* or *British* Nations, to submit to the Dictates of the *Portuguese* General, unhappily left the Army in *Valencia*, before the Battle of *Almanza*: And it is very reasonable to believe, that King *CHARLES* had much the same Inducement not to join the Army near *Madrid* the Year before. He knew the *Portuguese* would not yield the Command to him, even in *Spain*; which must have rendered him contemptible in the Eyes of the *Spaniards*, and

* Modern History Vol. XXV. p. 408.

naturally

naturally have been of very ill Consequence to his Affairs.

Nor can the Conduct of our Generals in other Places be defended in every Instance. What can be said for our lying idle spectators in *Flanders*, when our Friends in *Spain* were reduced to the last Extremity, and the Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene* marched into South *France*, to besiege *Toulon*. Surely, if ever it was necessary to give the Enemy some Diversion in *Flanders*, this was the Time, in order to prevent their sending Re-inforcements to *Spain* or *Provence*. Can we imagine, that the Duke of *Marlborough*, at the Head of the finest Army that ever the World saw (one hundred thousand Veteran Troops) who had beaten the Enemy the Year before, destroyed and taken twenty Thousand of their best Troops, and taken Towns before their Faces without Number, either wanted Courage or Stratagems this Campaign, to alarm and distress his baffled Enemy, who fled before him the last, and were not yet recovered from their Panic? No, this cannot be supposed; and I wish his Friends would furnish us with a better Reason for this indolent Conduct, than that he did not heartily desire to see a speedy End put to the War. The Presumptions are strong against him. Had he acted with the same Vigour he had done hitherto, and the Duke of *Savoy* entered *Provence* at the same time with sixty thousand Men, instead of forty (as he might have done, if that Detachment had not been made to *Naples*) the *French* King would probably have been brought upon his Knees, and readily have yielded up *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, as well as the rest of the *Spanish* Territories, notwithstanding his Victory at *Almanza*. The *German* General's sending fifteen thousand Men therefore to *Naples*, and the Duke's Inaction in *Flanders*, could, according to some, proceed from nothing else, but an Apprehension that the
War

War would have been brought to too speedy a Conclusion. These great Men, it must be acknowledged, made a much greater Figure in War, than they could expect to make in Time of Peace; courted universally at home and abroad, and golden Showers perpetually descending upon them: Temptations too great for mortal Men to resist.

We were blest'd with Success, 'tis true, during this Administration; but surely never was such an ill Use made of Victories. Could it be supposed, when we had been every where victorious, when so considerable a Kingdom as *Spain* had just declared for King CHARLES our good Ally, it should have been abandoned by us to the Rage of King PHILIP? Were not the Allies bound, in Honour as well as Interest, to have secured and protected *Spain*, before they had ventured upon that doubtful Enterprize against *Toulon*? They would afterwards have been in a better Condition to have invaded *France*; and *Naples*, every body agrees, would have fallen of itself. To suffer the Kingdom of *Spain* therefore to be wrested out of our Hands, when the People had declared for us, and we had so vast a Superiority of Troops in *Italy*, and a much better Army in *Flanders* than the *French* had there, will scarce admit of an Apology.

It could hardly be expected that the *French*, after this Turn in their Favour, should apply the next Winter for an Accommodation. And indeed if they had done it, there is little room to think their Proposals would have been listened to: For so did the Councils of the Ministry prevail in general, that nothing but an entire Reduction of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy was held sufficient on our Parts, tho' much of it had been lost back in the preceding Campaign. That this was the Sense of both Houses of Parliament, we learn from their Address of the

23d of December; and her Majesty's Answer, annexed thereto, shews how the Ministry was inclined.

" WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, having been always fully persuaded, that nothing could restore a just Balance of Power in Europe, but the reducing the whole Spanish Monarchy to the Obedience of the House of Austria, and having seen several great Parts of that Monarchy, by the Blessing of God upon the victorious Arms of your Majesty, and your Allies, already in the Possession of that House; do think it, not only seasonable, but necessary, at this Juncture, humbly to offer this our unanimous Opinion to your Majesty, *That no Peace can be honourable or safe for your Majesty or your Allies, if Spain the West-Indies, or any Part of the Spanish Monarchy, be suffered to remain under the Power of the House of Bourbon.*

The Address of both Houses, that no Peace can be safe without recovering the whole Spanish Monarchy.

" When we consider, what Efforts this Kingdom has continued to make from the Beginning of the War, we cannot but think a much greater Impression might have been made upon the Enemy before this time, *if some of our Allies, who seem principally concerned, and have reaped the most immediate Advantage, had seconded your Majesty with like Vigour*, whereby France might have been equally press'd on all Sides.

They complain of the Deficiencies of the Allies.

" We are obliged to return our humble Thanks to your Majesty, for the Care you have taken, and the Instances you have used with his Imperial Majesty, for sending a considerable Force to the Relief of Spain, under the Command of Prince Eugene; as being certainly the most likely Method to restore the Affairs of the Confederacy in that Country.

" But the frequent Disappointments we have observed on the part of the Emperor and Empire,

" to

“ to the great Prejudice of the common Cause, make
 “ us think it our Duty, in order that the War may
 “ be brought to a speedy and happy Conclusion,
 “ to beseech your Majesty to make the most pressing
 “ Instances to the Emperor, that he would,
 “ with all Expedition, send powerful Succours to
 “ his Brother the King of Spain; under the Conduct
 “ of that great and successful General;
 “ that he would timely and effectually make good
 “ what has been concerted for his putting twenty
 “ thousand Men under the Command of the
 “ Duke of Savoy, and would also make Use of
 “ his utmost Power and Interest for strengthening
 “ the Army upon the Rhine, which is now
 “ happily put under the Command of that
 “ wise and valiant Prince the Elector of Han-
 “ nover.

“ We believe, no part of this can be refused,
 “ upon your Majesty’s earnest Interposition, who
 “ have done such great Things for the House of
 “ Austria; and this being complied with, we
 “ may reasonably hope, by God’s Assistance,
 “ the next will prove a happy and glorious
 “ Campaign.”

Her Majesty’s most gracious Answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen’s
 Answer.

“ I AM fully of your Opinion, that no Peace
 “ can be honourable or safe for us, or for
 “ our Allies, till the entire Monarchy of Spain be
 “ restored to the House of Austria, and am very
 “ well pleased to find, that the Measures I have
 “ concerted for the Succour of the King of Spain,
 “ are so well approved by both Houses of Par-
 “ liament.

“ I shall continue my most pressing Instance
 “ with the Emperor, for the hastening of farther
 “ Succours, and that they may be com-
 “ manded

"manded by Prince *Eugene*; as also, upon
"all the other Particulars mentioned in your
"Addrefs."

Nor did the Commons act less vigorously in Campaign of granting Supplies, than they had expressed them-^{1708.} selves in their Address. The Consequences of which were, that an Enterprize of the Pretender and *France* against *Scotland* was easily repell'd, and the Allies got early into the Field the ensuing Summer. Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough* met at the *Hague* in the Beginning of *April*, and conjointly waited on the Elector of *Hanover*, who commanded on the *Rhine*. At Resolved to this Congress it was agreed, that the Imperialists make the should remain upon the Defensive in *Germany*, greatest Efforts in and detach what Forces they could spare under *Flanders*. the Command of Prince *Eugene*, to act in Conjunction with those of the Duke of *Marlborough* in *Flanders*, where the Allies propos'd to make their greatest Efforts this Campaign. Accordingly the Duke of *Marlborough* took the Field about the Middle of *May*; and, having posted himself on the Enemy's Frontiers, drew most of the Garrisons out of the Towns in *Flanders*, imagining they were sufficiently covered from the Attacks of the Enemy by his Army: But the *Flemings*, who were generally better affected to the *French* than the *Dutch*, as well upon the account of Religion, as other Considerations; and retaining a very great Affection for the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had lately governed them with great Humanity and Tenderness, readily list'n'd to his Invitation to submit to King *PHILIP*, and promised to open their Gates, if a Detachment of the *French* Troops should appear before them in the Absence of the Confederate Army. The principal Towns that had entered into this Conspiracy, were, *Antwerp*, *Ghent*, and *Bruges*; but *Ghent* and the Treachery of *Antwerp* was discovered, and *Bruges* delivered up to prevented: However a Body of *French* Troops the *French* having found Means to pass the Duke of *Marlborough's* by the Inhabitants.

The Duke of
Burgundy
besieges Oudenarde.

Rises from
before it on
the Approach of the
Allies.

borough's Army undiscovered ; and, coming before *Ghent* and *Bruges* in the Night-time, were let in by the Burghers, and possessed themselves of those two great Cities ; and from thence the French Army marched into *Dutch Flanders*, and laid that Country under Contribution. About which Time, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry* taking the Field, and joining the Duke of *Vendosme*, they had so great a Superiority of Troops before the *Germans* joined the Duke of *Marlborough*, that they ventured to lay Siege to *Oudenarde*, which was invested the 9th of *July*. Whereupon the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was joined about the same Time by Prince *Eugene*, and Part of the *Germans*, made a very long swift March to the Relief of that Place. On the Approach of the Allies, the *French* thought fit to raise the Siege, and prepare for an Engagement ; and the Confederate Generals not declining it, a Battle ensued, of which the *Dutch* Deputies in the Army gave the following Relation to the States-General.

High and Mighty Lords,

“ OUR Army, having marched on Sunday Night from *Asche*, took the Road of *Leffines*, in order to pass the *Dender* at that Place ; which was done without Opposition from the Enemy, whom we had prevented by a sudden March ; and arriving there on Tuesday Evening, we understood that the Enemy were marched from *Alost* towards *Gavre*, where they caused Bridges to be made, in order to pass the *Scheld* ; which made us believe they designed to post themselves upon the Height of *Oudenarde*, and hinder us from passing the *Scheld* ; and, though our Army was very much fatigued by the foregoing March, yet we resolved to proceed on our March Yesterday ; and, if possible, to prevent the Enemy : We

“ detach’d

" detach'd therefore sixteen Battalions in the
 " Night to take Post on the other Side the *Scheld*
 " near *Oudenarde*, and to lay the Bridges neces-
 " sary for our Passage. Yesterday Morning, a-
 " bout Nine, we received Advice that the Ene-
 " my had pass'd the *Scheld*, and were marching
 " towards *Oudenarde*; which made us hasten our
 " March as much as possible, for fear our De-
 " tachment that was sent over should be defeated,
 " and our selves prevented in our Design of pas-
 " sing the *Scheld*. But, by that Time the Enemy
 " was come near *Oudenarde*, they saw we had The Battle of Oudenarde
 " already taken Post over the *Scheld*, which made
 " them resolve to strike off to the Right; but to co-
 " ver their March against ours, they thought fit to
 " throw their Troops into the Hedges, and into a
 " Village upon the *Scheld* below *Oudenarde*. About
 " Three in the Afternoon, as soon as our Foot
 " began to come up, it was judged adviseable
 " to attack the Village; and thereby oblige
 " the Enemy to go no farther, but stop
 " their March: This Attack was made with
 " so much Vigour and Success, that the Enemy
 " was immediately driven out of the Village,
 " our Men falling upon them with their Bayonets
 " in the Muzzles of their Muskets, and not fir-
 " ing a Piece; so that they presently threw down
 " their Arms, and a whole Brigade, together
 " with the Brigadier, surrendered Prisoners.
 " The few Horse that had pass'd with the De-
 " tachment, attacked likewise the *French Squa-*
 " *drons*, posted behind the Village, with so much
 " Success, that they were put into Disorder, and
 " pushed; our Men taking from them eight or
 " ten Standards, and some Horses. Hereupon
 " the Enemy were forced to face about to us,
 " and form themselves about four of the Clock;
 " when most of our Foot being over and form-
 " ed, the general Engagement began first on the
 " Right, and afterwards on the Left Wing: The
 " Fight was properly between the Foot, and was
 " "obstinate;"

“ obstinate; but our Men got Ground, and
 “ drove the Enemy from one Hedge to another,
 “ till Night put an End to the Combat: The
 “ Horse, who by Reason of the broken Ground
 “ could not act, were detach’d to the Right and
 “ Left Wing; and advanced so far, that they
 “ attacked the Enemy in Flank and Rear; which
 “ when they perceived, they fell in the Night in-
 “ to the utmost Confusion, and Part of them re-
 “ tired, with the Baggage and Artillery, to-
 “ wards *Ghent* and *Deynse*; another Part to-
 “ wards the Road of *Courtray*; and according
 “ to Computation, six or seven thousand surren-
 “ dered themselves Prisoners, with three or four
 “ hundred Officers at their Head; among whom
 “ are several Dukes and General Officers. Had
 “ not the Night come to their Assistance, we
 “ believe they would have saved very little of
 “ their Army. We therefore congratulate your
 “ High Mightinesses upon this complete Victory,
 “ Which God Almighty has so graciously vouch-
 “ safed; and which gives us an Opportunity,
 “ with this victorious Army, and that of Prince
 “ *Eugene*, who was present at this Action to ex-
 “ tend the Frontiers farther, and bring the Ene-
 “ my to Reason. Each General made so good a
 “ Disposition, and every Regiment attacked the
 “ Enemy so well, and with so much Intrepidity,
 “ that it was impossible for any one to signalize
 “ himself in a particular Manner. Our Loss,
 “ God be thanked, is so small, that there is not,
 “ as we know of, one Regiment out of a Condi-
 “ tion to make the rest of the Campaign. A-
 “ mong the Horse, our Loss is nothing at all;
 “ nor do we yet know that we have lost any
 “ Head Officer of the State. With which,

High and Mighty Lords, &c.

Oudenarde, July 12. 1708.

The Confederates, after this Victory, levelled the *French* Lines between *Ypres* and the *Lys*, and raised Contributions in *Artois* and *Picardy*; which put the City of *Paris* itself into Consternation; and possibly the *French* were not displeased to see the Allies sit down before *Lisle*, which they knew would stop their Progress for some Months. The City of *Lisle* besieged.

I shall not give the History of this Siege at large, though it was one of the most remarkable in the whole War. It is sufficient to observe, that the Besiegers lost a great Number of Men, had their Provisions almost exhausted, and were in Danger of being obliged to quit the Enterprize. Their Communication with *Brussels*, whence they expected Supplies was cut off by the *French* Army, and it was with great Difficulty and Hazard that they got Provisions from *Ostend*: For in attempting of this happened the famous Battle at *Wynendale*, under General *Webb*; which, considering the Inequality of Numbers, and other Disadvantages on the Side of the *English*, was not inferior to any other. *Webb* had in the Action only six thousand Men, and left an equal Number of the Enemy dead on the Field, with the Loss of only nine hundred killed and wounded. In short, he got a complete Victory over an Army of 24,000 Horse and Foot, commanded by the Count *de la Motte*; secured all the Carriages, and enabled the grand Army to finish the Reduction of *Lisle*. Battle of *Wynendale*.

It was not till the 8th of *December*, N. S. *Lisle* taken. that the Castle of *Lisle* surrendered. Ten Days after the Duke of *Marlborough* invested *Ghent*, *Ghent* taken. which he carried in less than a Fortnight. It has been observed, * That his Grace was never more fortunate than at the sudden Reduction of this Place; for the Articles were scarce signed when the severest Frost began that had been known in A severe Frost.

* Modern History, Vol. XXVI, p. 3.

the Memory of Man : The very Horses Hoofs froze to the Ground, and his Army must infallibly have perished, if the Town had held out a very few Days longer ; which had been no difficult Matter, since there was no Breach made in the Walls, and the Count *de la Motte* had a good Army within the Town, supplied with all Necessaries ; (and indeed less than an Army could not have defended *Ghent*, which is twelve Miles round upon the Walls.) The Allies, it is true, were in the End very successful in *Flanders* this Campaign ; but they had two very narrow Escapes, one at *Wynendal*, and the other at *Ghent*. Had they miscarried at either Place, that fine Army of the Confederates, consisting of Veteran Troops, would infallibly have been ruined ; a Loss, that the Allies could scarce ever have retrieved. It may be considered farther, that the Siege of *Lisle* was the unhappy Occasion of the ill Success of the War in other Places in this Campaign. Our Affairs were again miserably neglected in *Spain* and *Portugal*, to humour the Duke and Prince *Eugene* in this Enterprize : We even broke our Treaty with *Portugal* on their Account, and sent Major-General *Earl* to *Ostend* with eight thousand Men, to assist in protecting the Supplies with Ammunition and Provision, that were continually sending to *Lisle*, when those Forces were raised and embarked for the Service in *Portugal* ; which was the Reason the *Portuguese* could make no Diversion on that Side, while the Duke of *Orleans* pressed the Allies in *Catalonia*, and besieged *Fortosa*, which surrendered the 11th of *July*, as did afterwards the Towns of *Denia* and *Alicant* in *Valencia*. Count *Staremberg* had indeed been sent from *Italy* to *Catalonia* with a small Reinforcement of Troops the Beginning of the Year 1708, which enabled him to save the Remainder of *Catalonia* ; but he was not in a Condition to act offensively till the latter End of the Year : For the Marquis *das Minas*, the General

The Allies had two very narrow Escapes this Campaign.

The Siege of *Lisle* the Occasion of our Losses in *Spain*.

neral of the *Portuguese*, and that other unfortunate General the Earl of *Galway*, with the *Portuguese* Forces in *Catalonia*, had been transported from *Catalonia* to *Portugal* to defend that Country; which was highly necessary, after the Allies had failed in sending the Forces to *Portugal*, which they had engaged to do by their Treaty with that Crown.

And, indeed, both King CHARLES and the King of *Portugal* seemed to have agreed upon a Cessation from the Fatigues of War the latter End of this Year, in order to follow softer Amusements. King CHARLES first made his Addresses to the Princess of *Anspach*, our late Queen; who, refusing to alter her Religion for the Sake of a precarious Crown, he courted the Princess of *Wolfembuttel*, and was so fortunate as to persuade her to renounce her Protestant Principles, and not only consent to a Marriage, but to go over in Person to *Barcelona*, and consummate her Nuptials there. And as to the King of *Portugal*, he was married by Proxy to *Mary Anne* of *Austria*, the Emperor's second Sister.

The Princess of *Anspach* refuses to turn Papist and marry King CHARLES. CHARLES marries the Princess of *Wolfembuttel*.

Sir *John Leake* had the good Fortune this Year not only to take and destroy many of the Enemy's Barks in *Italy*, but also to reduce the whole Island of *Sardinia* to the Obedience of King CHARLES, and that of *Minorca*, in which is the commodious Harbour of *Port-Mahon*, for the Service of his Mistress and the *English* Nation. And Commodore *Wager* (since Sir *Charles*) with four *English* Men of War, attacked seventeen *Spanish* Galleons near *Cartagena* in the *West-Indies*, of whom the *Spanish* Admiral valued at three Millions of Pieces of Eight, was blown up, and the Rear-Admiral taken. The Commodore's Share only of this Prize amounted to 100,000 *l.* and upon his Return home he was made Rear-Admiral for this Piece of Service.

Success of the *English* at Sea.

The French
make Over-
tures of
Peace.

The Severity of the Winter of 1708-9 has been already taken notice of. The *French*, to the Losses they had sustained the last Campaign, had now the Additional Misfortune of being destroyed by Famine and the Rigour of the Season. Their Crop failed them the last Year ; and this being succeeded by a cold Winter, when they had scarce any Provisions left, Multitudes of their People Perished : And that which no less afflicted the Court of *France* was, that the King's Revenues were exhausted ; his Funds appeared insufficient to pay the Interest of the national Debt. Mr. *Bernard*, the Principal of his Bankers, and many more of his Brethren, who us'd to make Remittances of Money and foreign Payments, for the Service of that Crown, broke, and abundance of People, before in flourishing Circumstances, who had lodged Money in their Hands, were reduced to a State of Beggary. These Calamities inducing the *French* King to think of Peace in earnest, pacifick Proposals were made by his Ministers about this Time to the States-General and the Duke of *Marlborough* : For his Grace remained in the *Netherlands* great Part of this Winter, to be in Readiness, as was given out, to prevent the *French* General's surprizing the Forces of the Allies, during the Frost. But, probably, the principal Reason of the Duke's remaining on that Side the Water was, to hear what Terms the *French* Ministers would propose : For his Grace, arriving at *London* in February, the Belief of his having brought Offers of that Nature from *France* along with him, was so universal, that both Houses agreed upon an Address to her Majesty, desiring, " That the *French* King might be obliged to own her Majesty's Titles and the Protestant Succession, and that the Allies might be Guarantees of the same : " That the Pretender might be removed out of the *French* Dominions ; and that the Harbour

" and

"and Fortifications of *Dunkirk* might be demolished, upon the Conclusion of a Peace".

About the same Time Monsieur *Petticum*, the Minister of *Holstein*, a Neutral Power, having proposed to the Powers engaged in a War, the entering into Negotiations of Peace, had prevailed with the States to suffer the President *Rouille* to come from the *French Court* into *Holland*, in order to settle Preliminaries with the Allies. The President succeeded so well, that the States and this Minister were in a manner agreed; of which the Emperor and her *British Majesty* being informed, Prince *Eugene* was sent to *Holland* by the Emperor, and arrived at the *Hague* the 27th of *March*; as did the Duke of *Marlborough* on the Part of *Great Britain*, the 8th of *April*. His Grace finding that the *French* made very specious Offers, and in a manner granted whatever the Allies could ask, returned to *England* again, to consult the Ministers there: not caring to take the whole Burthen of that Negotiation upon himself: In which he discovered his usual Caution and Prudence; for as he was General of the Army, and had so great an Interest in continuing the War, he well foresaw, that if he took upon him to reject the advantageous Offers made by the *French*, his Enemies would insinuate, he was governed by private Views: And, on the other hand, should any thing be found in the Articles prejudicial to *Britain*, as he was sole Plenipotentiary on the Part of Her Majesty, the Odium of it would naturally fall on him. He did not therefore only take the Opinion of the rest of the Ministry before he returned to *Holland*, but took over the Lord *Townsend* with him, as Joint-Plenipotentiary at the intended Treaty; a noble young Lord, that he knew would pay due Regard to the Opinion and Experience of the General: The Duke And, thus prepared and armed against the Cavils of his Enemies, he returned to the *Hague*, accompanied by the Lord *Townsend* the Middle of

Mr. Petticum's Negotiations, and their Effect.

of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townsend* Plenipotentiaries.

May; where they found the Marquis de Torcy, Secretary of State to the *French King*, lately arrived to give the last Hand to the Negotiation.

These Gentlemen, together with the Ministers of the rest of the Powers engaged in War, having debated the Terms of a general Peace for some Time, on the 28th of *May*, agreed on Preliminaries of the following Tenor:

“ That a firm and lasting Peace shall be established between the Allies and his most Christian Majesty: That the *French* shall acknowledge King CHARLES to be King of *Spain*, and the Territories dependent on that Crown; and if King PHILIP refuse to consent thereto, His most Christian Majesty shall take Measures, in Conjunction with the Allies to force him to it; and his most Christian Majesty shall withdraw all his Forces out of the Dominions of *Spain*, within two Months: That the *Spanish* Monarchy shall remain entire in the House of *Austria*; nor shall any King who reigns in *France*, ever reign in *Spain*, or possess any Part of its Dominions: That the *French King* shall deliver up *Strasburg*, *Fort Khel*, *Landau*, and *Brisac*, to the Emperor and cause *Hunningen*, *New Brisac*, and *Fort Louis*, to be demolished: That he shall acknowledge the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the Protestant Succession; banish the Pretender; deliver to the *English* *Newfoundland*, and demolish *Dunkirk*: That he shall relinquish to the Powers specified, *Namur*, *Mons*, *Charleroy*, *Furnes*, *Luxemburg*, *Menin*, *Lisle*, *Ypres*, *Newport*, *Dorway*, *Tournay*, *Condé*, *Maubege*, *Fort-Knoque*, and other Places: That to hasten the Conclusion of a General Peace, a Congress shall begin at the *Hague July 15*,”

The Plenipotentiaries of the Allies having signed these Preliminaries, those of *France* declared, they had no Directions to sign them : However, the Marquis *de Torcy* said, he would lay them before his Master the most Christian King, and endeavour to procure his Ratification ; and that he would acquaint Prince *Eugene* with his Majesty's Resolution, by the fourth of next Month. He then set out for *France* ; from whence he sent an Answer according to his Promise : Wherein he told the Prince, That his Majesty found it impossible for him to accept these Terms ; and therefore had sent Orders to Monsieur *Rouille*, to notify the same to the Potentates engaged in the War ; and that it was to be hoped that more favourable Terms would present, for the establishing a Peace so necessary for all *Europe*.

And Monsieur *Rouille* accordingly acquainted the Ministers of the Allies, that unless they would agree to some Alterations in the Preliminary Articles, his Master could not consent to them : To which the Ministers of the Allies answered, ' That they would not recede from any of the Articles agreed to ; and that if his Master did not think fit to accept them, neither would the Allies think themselves bound by them'. And Monsieur *Rouille* immediately received an Intimation, that he should depart from the *Hague*, which he did the ninth of *June* following.

Upon the Breaking-off of this Treaty the *French* King sent Circular Letters to the Governors of the respective Provinces in his Dominions, wherein he told them, " That in order to restore Peace, he would have accepted Conditions very opposite to the Security of his Frontier Provinces ; but, that the greater Desire he had shewn to dissipate those Umbrages his Enemies affected to have of his Power and Designs, the more they multiplied their Pretensions ;

The *French* refuse to sign the Preliminaries.

The *French* King's Reason for breaking off this Treaty.

“ tensions ; and they had let him see, that they
 “ had no other Intention, than to enlarge, at the
 “ Expence of his Crown, the States bordering
 “ upon *France*, and to open to themselves easy
 “ Ways, to penetrate into the Heart of his King-
 “ dom, as often as it would suit with their In-
 “ terests to begin a new War : That they would
 “ give him but two Months, to execute his Part
 “ of the Treaty ; and during that Time they
 “ would oblige him to deliver up the Places they
 “ demanded of him in *Alsace* and the *Louv-*
 “ *Countries*, and the demolishing those they had
 “ insisted on ; refusing on their Parts to enter in-
 “ to any other Engagements, than the Suspension
 “ of all Acts of Hostility till the first of *August* ;
 “ and reserving to themselves a Liberty of acting
 “ then by Force of Arms, if his Grandson re-
 “ fused to evacuate the *Spanish* Dominions, where-
 “ of he had for nine Years been acknowledged
 “ King : That such a Suspension would have
 “ been more dangerous to him than War it-
 “ self ; for so soon as the Suspension had been
 “ expired, his Enemies would have attacked him
 “ under those new Advantages they would have
 “ reaped from the Towns into which he himself
 “ had introduced them. And he expresses much
 “ Resentment, that the Confederates should sug-
 “ gest to him the joining his Forces with theirs,
 “ to compel his Grandson to descend the *Spanish*
 “ Throne. He said, the Thought of engaging
 “ him in such an Alliance, was inhuman : And
 “ although the Tendernefs he had for his People
 “ was as hearty as for his own Children ; and
 “ though he bore a Part in all the Ills his faith-
 “ ful Subjects underwent by the War, and had
 “ manifested to all *Europe* his sincere Desires that
 “ they might enjoy Peace ; he was satisfied they
 “ would themselves oppose the Acceptance of it,
 “ on Conditions so opposite to Justice and the Ho-
 “ nour of the *French* Nation”.

As fruitless as these Negotiations were in respect to the several Nations engaged in the present War, there is no doubt to be made but some Statesman on both Sides gained their Ends. There were some Ministers on the Part of the Allies, it is said, that dreaded nothing more than Peace; and these found their Account in insisting on such Terms as they knew would never be granted. On the other hand, *France*, that was reduced to the utmost Distress by Famine, and a rigorous Winter that followed it, and saw at the same Time so formidable a Power on her Frontiers, gained her Ends by granting one Demand after another, till she had spun out the Time to almost the Middle of Summer; whereby she had an Opportunity of recruiting her broken Troops, and replenishing her exhausted Stores: And then she gave the Allies to understand, That the Grand Monarch was not yet fallen so low, as to submit to these hard Preliminaries.

But whatever were the Views of *France*, or of some designing Statesmen among the Allies, the *French* Ministers were no sooner returned, but both Armies prepared to take the Field. The *French* possessed themselves of a Camp naturally strong, and threw up such Intrenchments, that the Allies did not think fit to attack them; but resolved to open the Campaign with the Siege of *Tournay*: And accordingly that Place was invested by the Confederate Troops the 27th of *June*, N. S. On the 7th of *July* the Trenches were opened, and on the 30th the Town surrendered, and the Garrison marched into the Citadel; which held out till the 3d of *September*, and then surrendered.

Tournay being reduced, the Allies resolved upon the Siege of *Mons*; but Marshal *Villars*, having possessed himself of the strong Camp of *Blaregnies* or *Malplaquet*, in the Woods of *Sart* and *Sansart*, it was found impracticable to form

The Campaign in 1709.

Tournay besieged and taken.

The HISTORY of

the Siege until the *French* were driven from that Post: Whereupon happened the bloodiest Battle that ever was fought in *Flanders*.

The Battle
of *Blareg-
nes* or *Mal-
plaquet*.

It was, in reality, a Battle between two Armies of a Side; Prince *Eugene* commanded a complete Army of fifty thousand Men, with Wings of Horse on the Right and Left; and the Duke of *Marlborough* another entire Army, of which the *English* formed the Right, and the *Dutch* the Left; while Marshal *Villars* commanded a separate Army of the *French* on the Left, drawn up against that of Prince *Eugene*; and Marshal *Boufflers* another upon the Right, which engaged that under the Command of the Duke of *Marlborough*. These great Armies lay near each other several Days; and, on the 9th of *September*, the Enemies possessed themselves of the Woods of

The fortified
Camp of
the Enemy.

Sart and *Sansart*, where they cut down Trees, erected Batteries, and threw up Intrenchments for their Defence. The same Day, and the next, the Armies on both Sides were drawn up in Order of Battle; and the 10th, in the Evening, the Generals of the Allies resolved to attack the *French*. Accordingly, on the 11th of *September* at Break of Day, the Infantry of the Allies marched in three Lines, and the Cavalry in two Columns, advancing directly towards the Enemy, who were so strongly intrenched, that their Works looked more like a Citadel than a Camp.

An Account
of the Battle
by one of the
Generals.

Their Left Wing, as a certain General relates, was covered by a great and thick Wood, in which they had cast up many Intrenchments, and posted their Infantry; and their Right was covered by another Wood and thick Hedge, which run along the same like a Chain; and besides, they had cast up three Intrenchments, and had a marshy Ground before them, which rendered the Access to their Intrenchments still more difficult. Their Center was in a little Plain, where they had cast up several Intrenchments also, one behind

the

the other, all defended in convenient Places with a good Artillery, which annoyed us very much. They had besides cut down the Hedges behind their Lines, for the more easy marching of their Cavalry, to support their Infantry wherever Occasion should require. In this advantageous Situation we attacked the Enemy, and began to cannonade them about half an Hour past eight, and they answered us with the like Vigour; while all our Forces marched to begin the Attack as the Generals had directed. The Left Wing of Prince Eugene's Army attacked the Enemy in the Wood aforesaid, about that Time, with all imaginable Vigour; but were received with a great deal of Bravery. We beat the Enemy from that Post, and they beat us again from thence: But, after an obstinate Fight of two Hours, in which abundance of Blood was shed on both Sides, the Soldiers killing one another with their Bayonets and the Butts of their Muskets, we made ourselves Masters of the Wood; and thereupon our whole Left Wing marched, without any Loss of Time, towards the Enemy, and began another Fight as obstinate as the first Attack. As they were covered by three strong Intrenchments, which we were obliged to attack one after another, the Fight continued five Hours with an incredible Fury; but all this while with doubtful Success, because the Enemy rallied several Times, regaining with an extraordinary Valour the Entrenchments from whence we had beaten them: During which they attempted several Times to drive us from the Wood we had gained; but we maintained our Ground, and beat them from all their Intrenchments. It was about that Time, that their Cavalry, which was drawn up in several Lines, seeing that their Infantry was beaten from their Post advanced in very good Order to charge our Cavalry, and re-

gain the Intrenchments wherein we had taken Post; and this new Fight proved very obstinate: They forced us sometimes to give Ground, and were forced, in their Turn, to give way. The Action became then more general, and some Squadrons of the Right Wing of my Lord Duke's Army being repulsed by the great Number of the Enemy, the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with some *Danish* and other Squadrons of Prince *Eugene's* Army, advanced to support them. The *French* Cavalry, being thus vigorously attacked, fell soon into Disorder, and were so much pressed, that they could not rally again: They endeavoured to do it behind a Hedge; but the Duke of *Wirtemberg* caused immediately the Dragoons of *Wirtemberg-Ooels* to dismount, to attack the Enemy on Foot behind the Hedge aforesaid, from which they were driven, and they did not form again into any Order till they came behind a little Hill, at a pretty Distance from us, having behind them the little Town of *Bavay*, and a Morass and a Defile before: And their Infantry, by Favour of the Hedges and Woods, made, for the most part, their Retreat that Way, and formed themselves again near their Cavalry. The Defile and Morass aforesaid did not permit us to pursue them farther in a Body; but two Regiments of Hussars, and some Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, were detach'd to annoy them as much as possible in their Retreat. The Battle ended about Four in the Afternoon.

The Numbers killed and wounded.

In this Battle, according to the Accounts of the Allies, they had 5,547 Men killed, and 12,806 wounded; in all, upwards of 18,000; and, on the *French* Side, there were, according to the Allies, about 15,000 killed and wounded: And it is very natural to believe, that the Allies lost more Men than the Enemy, since they were cut down from Morning till Noon, by the great and small Shot of the Enemy, before they became Masters

Masters of their Intrenchments; and, after so hot an Action, it is no wonder they did not pursue the Enemy above three Miles from the Field of Battle. They took about forty or fifty of the Enemy's Cannon in the Intrenchments, fifty Colours and Standards, and some thousands of wounded Officers and Soldiers were made Prisoners. Prince *Eugene* received a slight Wound in the Head in this Engagement, which did not, however, hinder him from giving his Orders during the whole Action.

After the Victory of *Malplaquet* or *Blaregnies*, *Mons* taken, the Allies marched towards *Mons*; and, having invested that City the 21st Instant, it surrendered the 20th of *October* following; which finished the Campaign in *Flanders*; and both Armies thereupon went into Winter-Quarters.

There was not any Thing done remarkable this Year on the *Rhine*, in *Savoy*, or in *Portugal*; and the most considerable Action in *Spain* was the Blowing-up of the Castle of *Alicant*. I proceed therefore to the Negotiations of Peace in the following Winter. The *French* King proposed again to the States, by Monsieur *Petticum*, the Renewing the Treaty, on the Foot of the Preliminaries before-mentioned; only he would not be obliged to compel his Grandson K. PHILIP to quit the Throne of *Spain*. But the Allies still insisted on his yielding up the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, within the Space of two Months. The *Dutch*, which are it seems, were now of Opinion, that all Over-
The French make further Overtures.
rejected.
 tures, short of this, ought to be rejected; and thereupon wrote a Letter to Her Majesty, to incite her to continue the War, and augment her Forces next Campaign; promising to do the like on their Part, and hoping her Majesty would press the rest of the Confederates to imitate them. They also desired Her Majesty, to send over the Duke of *Marlborough* betimes, if possible before the End of *February*; that they might have the Benefit of the wise Counsel of that great General

ral, in concerting, in-due Time, the Operations of the Campaign; and reap the Advantages of his incomparable Valour, in the Execution thereof.

Thus did the *Dutch* compliment our Favourite Minister, General, and Plenipotentiary: And the Queen was thereupon induced to write a Letter to the Diet of the Empire; wherein she desires them to observe the Enemy's obstinate and irreconcilable Spirit; and that nothing was further from his Thoughts than Peace, as appeared by the Artifices with which he endeavoured to amuse the Allies: That he raised Recruits, augmented his Forces, and erected great Magazines; from whence it appeared, that Peace was not to be obtained but by a Continuation of the War: That there was a Necessity therefore, that the Allies should make their utmost Efforts, and have a greater Number of Troops than they had at present: That Her Majesty had not neglected, as often as the public Welfare seem'd to require it, to augment her Troops beyond her Quota, and to expend vast Sums of Money; and now, when they were like to reap the Fruits of their Victories, she was still ready to increase her Forces to the utmost of her Power, that the rest of the Allies might be incited by the Example of *Great-Britain*, to augment their Troops beyond what had been hitherto done: Whereupon she repeated her Instances to that illustrious Council of the Empire, That they would exhort all the Electors, Princes, and States, to make great Efforts, that there might be a powerful Army on the *Upper-Rhine*, not only to cover the Frontiers of the Empire, but to extend the same, that *France* might not be in a Condition to carry the whole Weight of the War into *Flanders*: Adding, That if every one would furnish his Quota of Troops in Time, the Confederate Forces would be so considerable and numerous, that there was

no

The Queen's
Letter to the
Diet of the
Empire to
induce their
Principals to
exert them-
selves.

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no Reason to doubt, but with God's Blessing, they should pull down the Spirit of that proud Enemy, and force him at last to consent to the Peace (which he had hitherto haughtily rejected) upon such Conditions as might for ever secure the Repose and Tranquillity of *Europe*.

At the Beginning of the next Year, however, the Negotiations were resumed. The vigorous Resolutions taken in *Great Britain* and *Holland*, for the Prosecution of the War, occasioned the Marquis de Torcy to send fresh Proposals from his most Christian Majesty, wherein the former Preliminaries were to be the Foundation of a new Treaty. Pursuant hereto, the States-General having granted Passes to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, the Marshal d'Uxelles, and the Abbot de Polignac, to come to *Gertruydenburg* in *Holland*; the *British* House of Peers addressed Her Majesty, on the 18th of *February*, to send the Duke of *Marlborough* over to *Holland*, to take Care of the Interests of *Great Britain*. Accordingly his Grace, having received Her Majesty's Command, set out for *Holland* the next Day, and arrived there the latter End of the Month. The *French* Ministers were met at *Gertruydenburg* by Messieurs Buys and Vanderdussen, the Plenipotentiaries of the States, the Beginning of *March*, who, having heard what the *French* had to offer, returned to the *Hague*, and made their Report to the Duke of *Marlborough*, Count Zinzendorf the Emperor's Minister, and the rest of the Ministers of the Allies residing there. They said, That the *French* Ministers had endeavoured to persuade them, That it was the Interest of the Allies to make Peace with *France*, exclusive of *Spain*; and that the *French* King was willing to enter into the most solemn Engagements (and give cautionary Towns for the Performance) that he would not give any Assistance to his Grandson *Philip*.

The *Dutch* Ministers had several Conferences afterwards with the *French*, who proposed a Partition

The Negotiations of *Gertruydenburg*.

Sicily and *Sardinia* only demanded for *K. Philip*.

The Conferences broken off.

Some Remarks on them.

tition of the *Spanish* Territories; but came at length so low in their Demands, that they offered to accept of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: And though their King could not in Honour and Conscience make War upon his Grandson, and drive him from the Throne on which he had placed him; yet, they said, his Majesty would persuade his Grandson to accept of that Partition; which if he refused to consent to, he would furnish a Sum of Money towards the Charges of the War, to be continued till the Surrender of *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to the House of *Austria*. But the *Dutch*, still insisting that *Spain* and the *Indies*, with all the Territories belonging to them, should be delivered up within the Space of two Months, according to the Preliminaries, the Conferences were broken off.

‘ It is observable, says *Salmon* *, that this Treaty was managed only by the *French* and *Dutch* Ministers, the rest of the Allies contenting themselves with the Report the *Dutch* were pleased to make of these Conferences. As for the Duke of *Marlborough*, he had left his Resolutions with the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers at the *Hague*, and was gone into the Field. He had now such an Ascendant over the *Dutch*, that he had no need to doubt their Fidelity to him: But, it is said, both the Emperor’s and the King of *Prussia*’s Ministers were for accepting the Terms offered by the *French*, if those of *Great Britain* and the States would have been prevailed on to acquiesce in them. But however that was, Marshal *d’ Uxelles* and the Abbot *de Polignac* made heavy Complaints in a Letter to the Pensionary *Henfius*, that the *Dutch* Deputies had misrepresented these Conferences: To which the *Dutch* sent no Answer. But from the Relations of both Sides it appears, That

* Modern History, Vol. XXVI. p. 93.

the *French* King had agreed to acknowledge King CHARLES ; and that he would not only not assist his Grandson, but would contribute a Sum of Money towards compelling him to quit the *Spanish* Throne, if he refused to do it at his Instance ; and that he would deliver four strong Towns in the *Netherlands* to the Allies, as a Security for what he stipulated : And as to all the other Preliminary Articles, such as acknowledging the Queen ; the Barrier demanded for the Empire, *Holland*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, &c. these he made no Scruple of granting. And after this, will it not be difficult to assign a substantial Reason for continuing this bloody War ?

How long would *Spain* have been able to have resisted the United Arms of the Allies, without the Assistance of *France*, if it could be supposed that King PHILIP would have refused to comply with what his Grandfather had stipulated for him, and thereby hazarded losing even *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, as well as his other Dominions ? The Towns that were agreed to be delivered up to the Emperor and the *Dutch*, would have required some Years to conquer : And had the *French* been never so insincere, as was pretended, the Allies would have gained such an Addition of Strength by them, as would have rendered *France* much less formidable than it was then. Let it be considered farther, had it been our own Case, and the Fortune of the War had reduced us to the Necessity of abandoning King CHARLES, and the *French* King had insisted, that the Allies should not only not assist him, but turn their Arms against the Prince they had set up ; would it not have been thought a most extravagant Demand ? And if it would, was it not much more unreasonable to desire the *French* King to enter into a War with King PHILIP, to whom he was so nearly allied by the Ties of Blood, as well as other Engagements ?

‘ We

‘ We had, indeed, so long talked of the boundless Ambition and exorbitant Power of *France*, that we affected to have a Dread of it, even after that Kingdom was reduced so low, that our Generals gave out, they could not make Head against us another Year.

‘ Every Proposal, that was laid to come from *France*, was still condemned as unreasonable, before it was examined ; and, if the Reasonableness of it was so conspicuous, that it could not be denied, then were we taught to exclaim against their Insincerity.

‘ In short, some of the Powers, engaged in the Grand Alliance, were such Gainers by the War, the whole Charge whereof was borne by their Neighbours, whose Ministers were in their Interest, that any Peace whatever must have been to their Disadvantage ; and therefore it is not to be thought strange, if they talk’d loudly of the Enemy’s Insincerity, and rejected all their Proposals. The daily Acquisition of new Dominions, at the Expence of others, possibly, put such a Bias on their Judgments, that they might, in some measure, believe what they affirmed. We have seen whole Nations submit their Understandings, and even resign their paternal Estates, to grasp a Shadow : The very Appearance of Gain has distracted the Wisest ; and it is no wonder, if real Acquisitions have had the same Effect on others.’

Campaign of
1710.

I shall be very brief in my Account of the following Campaigns, till the Conclusion of a general Peace. In 1710 the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* took the Field, while the Conferences were carrying on at *Gertruydenburgh*. They reduced this Year, at a great Expence of Men and Treasure, the Towns of *Douay*, *Aire*, *Bethune*, and *St. Venant* ; the two first of which are Places of Note. The Army on the *Rhine* did nothing but cover the Frontiers ; and the

Electo

Elect^r of *Hanover*, who commanded it, finding there was no Honour to be gained, resigned his Commission. The Duke of *Savoy* was also quiet on the Side of *Dauphiné*: So that the principal Seat of Action this Year was *Spain*. Here King CHARLES, being re-inforced from *Italy*, attacked his Rival near *Almanara*, and routed his Cavalry; but it being late when the Engagement began, the Foot retired by the Favour of the Night. Soon after he obtained a complete Victory near *Saragossa*, which immediately opened her Gates to the Victor, who the next Month entered *Madrid* in Triumph. But the latter End of the Year was unfortunate to the *English* Forces, under General *Stanhope*, who were surprized near *Brihuega* by King PHILIP's Army, and made Prisoners with their General. Count *Staremburg* indeed, who commanded the rest of the Allies, was the very next Day revenged on the *Spaniards*, by giving them a Defeat at *Villa Viciosa*. But tho' he got a great deal of Honour in the Action, he was unable to prosecute the Victory to Advantage. In a Word, King CHARLES was obliged to abandon *Madrid*, and the Year was rather unsuccessful to him than otherwise.

In the Year 1711, the Duke of *Marlborough's* Of 1711
last Campaign, the only Action in *Flanders* was his and 1712.
Entering the *French* Lines, and taking the Town
of *Bouchain*, which was retaken the next Year.
Nothing was done on the *Rhine*, or in *Catalonia*.
Sir *Hovenden Walker's* Enterprize on *Canada*
came to nought, And in 1712, when the Duke
of *Ormond* commanded, Negotiations of Peace
were openly carried on, and he was absolutely
forbid to act offensively against the *French*. This
leads us to the Consideration of the Steps that had
been previously taken on both Sides, in order to
an Accommodation; which have hitherto been
greatly misrepresented.

Mr.

Steps taken
by the Ministry.

Mr. *Harley* and Mr. *St. John*, long before they were advanced to the Head of the Ministry, had entertained Thoughts of putting an End to the War, and thereby recommended themselves to the Queen and the Nation. They had privately treated with some Agents of *France*, particularly Mr. *St. John* with the *Sieur Gualtier*, a *French Priest*, who for some Time was protected by Count *Gallas*, and afterwards employed by Count *Tallard*, then a Prisoner at *Nottingham*, to forward Letters between him and his Court. But in 1710, when these Gentlemen were brought into full Play, a Paper called *The Examiner* was immediately set up under their Influence, and conducted by Mr. *Prior*, Dr. *Swift*, Dr. *Freind*, Mrs. *Manley*, Mr. *Oldsworth*, and some others; the Design of which was to aggravate the Faults of the late Ministry, to represent them as Enemies to the Church and Constitution, Men who delighted in War and to recommend an immediate Pacification, which indeed at that Time began to be much wished for. All the Wit, Raillery, and even Invektive that these great Men were Masters of, was employed on this Occasion: And it had in general the desired Effect, so far as to secure the public Voice in their Favour. It must be confessed, that by artfully blending together the Words *Church*, *Queen*, *Loyalty*, *Peace*, on the one Side, and *Whig*, *Junto*, *Republican*, *Faction*, on the other, they had the Address to carry every thing before them, and to involve all the Friends of the late Ministry in their Accusation. We have already taken notice what was the Substance of this Charge, especially with regard to the Prolongation of the War; and the Reader may see more of it in the following Letter to the *Examiner*, which is prefixed to the Collection of those Papers, and writ by Mr. *St. John*, afterwards Lord *Bolingbroke*.

S I R,

S I R,

‘ W H E N I read the Introduction to Mr. St.
 ‘ your Paper, it was great Satisfaction *John's Let-*
 ‘ for me to find, that Somebody had undertaken *ter to the*
 ‘ to furnish Mankind with a Weekly Antidote *Examiner.*
 ‘ to that Weekly Poison, which by the Presi-
 ‘ dent and inferior Members of a Factious Ca-
 ‘ bal, is so profusely scattered thro’ the Nation.

‘ You have sufficiently exposed the * Letter
 ‘ which you chose to begin your Examinations
 ‘ with. How little of that Probability, which
 ‘ ought to be carried through the whole Thread
 ‘ of a well-invented Fable, appears in it! How
 ‘ little Regard is paid to that Justness and Pro-
 ‘ priety of Character, without which Compo-
 ‘ sitions of this Kind are as monstrous, as that
 ‘ Government must be, where Submission is
 ‘ made the Duty of the Prince, and Dominion
 ‘ the Prerogative of the Subject?

‘ But such is the singular Modesty of that
 ‘ Faction, which the Ministers of the Crown
 ‘ have, with so much Advantage to themselves,
 ‘ nurs’d up, in Opposition to the Crown; that
 ‘ you must expect to have the same Arguments
 ‘ still pursued. The *Observer*, the *Review*,
 ‘ the † *Censor of Great Britain*, who resembles
 ‘ the famous Censor of Rome in nothing, but
 ‘ espousing the Cause of the Vanquished, with
 ‘ the Croud of Hireling Scribblers, will hope,
 ‘ by a few false Colours, and a great many im-
 ‘ pudent Assertions, at last to persuade the Peo-
 ‘ ple, that the General, the *quondam* Treasure,
 ‘ and the Junto, are the only Objects of the
 ‘ Confidence of the Allies, and of the Fears of
 ‘ the Enemies: For the Queen, and the whole
 ‘ Body of the *British* Nation——*Nos nume-*
 ‘ *rus sumus.*

* Mr. Petticum's Letter. See the *Examiner*.

† The *Tatler*.

‘ Surely

The HISTORY of

' Surely therefore, the Argument which you
 ' have undertaken, should be carried further.
 ' Allow that the *French* have recovered Heart,
 ' that they rise in their Demands, that the
 ' Conferences at *Gertruydenburgh* were broke off
 ' by them, whilst our Plenipotentiaries did all
 ' that possibly could be done to obtain a safe and
 ' honourable Peace: Allow, I say, all this;
 ' not because it is true, for the contrary shall
 ' one Time or other be made out to the World,
 ' when the true State of our present Condition
 ' will be set in a clearer Light; yet that Odium
 ' which the Ministers and their Faction endeavour
 ' to throw on the Queen, and on those
 ' who have appeared at Her Call, and in Her
 ' Defence, will with more Justice be laid at
 ' their own Door.

' Paint, Sir, with that Force which you are
 ' Master of, the present State of the War
 ' abroad, and expose to public View those Principles,
 ' upon which, of late, it has been carried on,
 ' so different from those, upon which it was
 ' originally entered into. Collect some few of the
 ' Indignities which have been this Year offered to
 ' Her Majesty, and of those unnatural Struggles,
 ' which have betray'd the Weakness of a shatter'd
 ' Constitution: And when this is done, *D——n* shall
 ' blush in his Grave among the Dead, *W——le* among
 ' the Living, and even *Vol——ne* shall feel some
 ' Remorse.

' Forgive me, Sir, if in that Warmth which
 ' these Reflections occasion, I anticipate in some
 ' Measure the Subject, and encroach on the
 ' Province which belongs to you.

' To restore the *Spanish* Monarchy to the
 ' House of *Austria*, who by their own Supineness,
 ' and the Perfidy of the *French*, had lost it;
 ' and to regain a Barrier for *Holland*, which
 ' lay naked and open to the Insults of *France*;
 ' were the wise and generous Motives, which
 ' engaged

engaged *Britain* in the present War. We engaged as Confederates, but we have been made to proceed as Principals: Principals in Expence of Blood and Treasure, whilst hardly a second Place in Respect and Dignity is allowed to us.

In the Year 1706, the last of these two Motives was effectually answered by the Reduction of the *Netherlands*; or might have been so, by the Concessions, which it is notorious that the Enemy offered. But the first Motive remained still in its full Force; and we were told, that though the Barrier of *Holland* was secured, the Trade of *Britain*, and the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, would be still precarious. *Spain* therefore was to be conquered, before we laid down our Arms, and we were made to expect, that the whole Attention of our Ministers would be applied to that Part of the War. Like Men of resigned Understandings, we acquiesced, and flattered ourselves, That since *Holland* had been secured in the first Place, *Britain* would be taken care of in the second. But alas! these Expectations, like many others, have failed us.

From that Point of Time to this Hour, *France* has continued like a great Town, invested indeed on every Part, but attacked only in one. In *Spain*, in *Savoy*, on the *Rhine*, enough, and but just enough has been done, to serve as a Pretence for Estimates, and Demands of Supplies: But nothing decisive, nothing which had the Appearance of Earnest, has been so much as attempted, except that wise Expedition to *Toulon*, which we suffered to be defeated, before it began. The whole Stress of the War has been wantonly laid, where *France* is best able to keep us at Bay; as if we fought only to make Ostentation of our Valour, and of our Riches. Towns have been taken, and Battles have been won; the Mob

has

' has huzza'd round Bonfires: the *Stentor* of
 ' the Chapel has strained his Throat in the Gal-
 ' lery, and the *Stentor* of *Sarum* has deaffened
 ' his Audience from the Pulpit. In the mean
 ' while, the *French* King has withdrawn Troops
 ' from *Spain*, and has put it out of his Power
 ' to restore that Monarchy to us, was he redu-
 ' ced low enough really to desire to do it. The
 ' Duke of *Anjou* has had Leisure to take off
 ' those whom he suspected, to confirm his
 ' Friends, to regulate his Revenues, to encrease
 ' and form his Troops, and above all, to rouse
 ' that Spirit in the *Spanish* Nation, which a Suc-
 ' cession of lazy and indolent Princes had lulled
 ' asleep.

' From hence it appears probable enough, that
 ' if the War continue much longer on the pre-
 ' sent Foot; instead of regaining *Spain*, we shall
 ' find the Duke of *Anjou* in a Condition to
 ' pay the Debt of Gratitude, and support the
 ' Grandfather in his declining Years, by whose
 ' Arms, in the Days of his Infancy, he was
 ' upheld. The *Dutch* will have a larger and
 ' a better Country than their own, at the Ex-
 ' pence of *Britain*, conquered for them, by
 ' those Ministers, who once thought it impoli-
 ' tic to consent, that even *Ostend* should be made
 ' a Part of their Barrier. The Emperor has
 ' already *Bavaria*, the Dutchy of *Mantua*, the
 ' State of *Milan*; and the Kingdom of *Naples*,
 ' *Sicily*, and some other Places dependent on
 ' these, may be added to his Portion; and by
 ' the little Care he now takes to support King
 ' CHARLES, we may easily judge how great
 ' his Concern will be, if that Prince should be
 ' deprived of all the rest.

' *Britain* may expect to remain exhausted of
 ' Men and Money, to see her Trade divided
 ' amongst her Neighbours, her Revenues anti-
 ' cipated even to future Generations, and to
 ' have this only Glory left Her, that she has
 ' proved

proved a Farm to the Bank, a Province to Holland, and a Jest to the whole World.

If the Facts I have mentioned are true, and the Consequences I have drawn from them, are naturally deducible from such Causes, may not the King of *France* reasonably hope, tho' *Holland* should be aggrandized, that *Britain* will be in proportion weakened? May he not hope, in exchange for a few Towns, which he either bought or stole in former Wars, to secure the *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Bourbon* for ever, by happily concluding this?

Let us now survey the present State of our domestic Affairs, and examine whether from the Conduct of the Ministry, and of the factious Whigs, the *French* King has not good Grounds to expect to see us in Confusion, and by Consequence the great Band of the Confederacy dissolved.

Domestic Occurrences, the more they are examined, the greater Weight will they add to the same Argument.

You have, in your second Paper, pointed out some few of those innumerable Obligations, which the Whigs have laid on the *French* King. Whenever you think fit to go to the Bottom of the Subject, I make no doubt but it will evidently appear, that LEWIS XIV. has Reason enough to hope for Success from the Measures taken by the Ministers, and their Faction at home; as I have already shewn, that he has from the Conduct of the War abroad.

Notwithstanding all the Pains which have been taken to lessen Her Character in the World, by the Wits of the *Kit-Kat*, and the Sages of the Cellar; Mankind remains convinced, that a Queen possessed of all the Virtues requisite to bless a Nation, or to make a private Family happy, sits on the Throne.

By

‘ By an Excess of Goodness she delighted to
 ‘ raise some of Her Servants to the highest De-
 ‘ gree of Riches, of Power, and of Honour;
 ‘ and in this only Instance can be said to have
 ‘ grieved any of Her Subjects.

‘ The Rule which she had prescribed to these
 ‘ Persons, as the Measure of their Conduct, was
 ‘ soon departed from. But so unable were they
 ‘ to associate with Men of honest Principles
 ‘ than themselves, that the Sovereign Authority
 ‘ was parcelled out among a Faction, and made
 ‘ the Purchase of Indemnity for an offending
 ‘ Minister. Instead of the mild Influences of a
 ‘ gracious Queen governing by Law; we soon
 ‘ felt the miserable Consequences of Subjection
 ‘ to the Will of an arbitrary Junto, and to the
 ‘ Caprice of an insolent Woman.

‘ Unhappy Nation, which expecting to be go-
 ‘ verned by the Best, fell under the Tyranny of
 ‘ the Worst of her Sex! But now, Thanks be to
 ‘ God, that Fury, who broke loose to execute
 ‘ the Vengeance of Heaven on a sinful People,
 ‘ is restrained, and the Royal Hand is already
 ‘ reached out to chain up the Plague.

Invisum numen terras cælumque levabit.

‘ One would expect, that on the first Appear-
 ‘ ance of the Queen’s Displeasure, these little
 ‘ Tyrants should had Recourse to Submission,
 ‘ and to Resignation. But they believed the
 ‘ whole Nation as debauched and corrupted, as
 ‘ those profligate Wretches, who were in their
 ‘ Confidence; they imagined, that under the
 ‘ Name of their Prince, they should be able to
 ‘ govern against her declared Intention; and
 ‘ having usurped the Royal Seat, resolved to
 ‘ venture overturning the Chariot of Govern-
 ‘ ment, rather than to lose their Place in it.
 ‘ They set their Mistress at open Defiance, nei-
 ther

‘ ther, the Ties of Gratitude, nor the Bands of
‘ Allegiance, were any Restraint to them.

‘ Their first Attempt was to take that Privilege
‘ from Her, which the meanest of Her Subjects
‘ enjoy, and Slavery was to pursue Her, even into
‘ Her Bed-chamber.

‘ Here the Nation in general took the Alarm;
‘ a Spirit of Loyalty began to rise, which the Fac-
‘ tion foresaw would no longer bear to have the
‘ meanest Submission shewn to the Ministers,
‘ whilst common Decency was hardly used towards
‘ the Throne. The Conspirators resolv’d there-
‘ fore to precipitate their Measures, and a Sermon
‘ was made the pretence of their Clamour. Those
‘ who prove themselves Friends to this Govern-
‘ ment by avowing Principles inconsistent with
‘ any, presumed daily to try the Title of the
‘ Queen, and to limit the Allegiance of the Sub-
‘ ject. The Party-Agents of every Rank were
‘ employed to declaim in public Places, and we
‘ had the Mortification to see Cabals of Upstarts,
‘ sit in Judgment on the Right and Authority of
‘ the Crown, who, had it not been for the profu-
‘ sion of Royal Favour, could have had no pre-
‘ tence to be common Triers in any Cause.

‘ By long insipid Harangues, and fulsome Pane-
‘ gyric, the Merits of the Ministers were exalted :
‘ The whole success of the Administration, both
‘ at Home and Abroad, was singly attributed to
‘ them ; and lest the Queen should think fit to de-
‘ clare them dangerous, she was by necessary Con-
‘ sequences from the Positions laid down, declared
‘ Herself to be Useless.

‘ This Attempt had likewise an Effect, contrary
‘ to what the Projectors of it expected. The Fer-
‘ ment, instead of abating, increased ; the Bulk
‘ of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Common-
‘ alty of *Britain* declared themselves loudly in the
‘ Cause of their Prince ; and those Disorders which

‘ the Faction had raised for their Security, threatened their Destruction.

‘ Not daunted yet, they resolve to try a new Expedient; and the Interest of *Europe* is to be represented as inseparable from that of the Ministers.

— *Haud dubitant equidem implorare quod usquam est;*

Flectere si nequeunt superos, Acheronta movebunt.

‘ The Members of the Bank, the *Dutch*, and the Court of *Vienna*, are called in as Confederates to the Ministry; and such an Indignity is offered to the Crown, as no Man, who has the Honour of his Country at Heart, can with Patience hear.

‘ What a Weakness in our Constitution, what a Sickness at Heart do these Symptoms, which appear too openly, discover?

‘ These are Signs which shew a Government to be near its Dissolution: These are Things which justly give Encouragement to an Enemy. And if you would go to the Root of our Distemper, these are the Topics you must insist upon, as the real Causes which have prolonged the War, distracted the Nation, and given *France* Spirit enough at last to break off the Peace.

‘ And these are the Things, Sir, that deserve to pass under your Pen, that the Nation may be truly informed from what Springs our own Grievances, and the Hopes of our Enemies, have risen.’

Mr. PRIOR is supposed to have been the Author of many of the best *Examiners*, which are not particularly distinguished: But the following Criticism upon a Poem of Dr. Garth's to the Earl of Godolphin, is universally allowed to be his; as the Answer which follows, taken from the *Whig*

Examiner,

Examiner, is well known to be Mr. Addison's, who sided with the Party in Disgrace.

EXAMINER.

N^o 6. Thursday Sept. 7. 1710.

THE Collective Body of the Whigs have already engrossed our Riches; and their Representatives, the *Kit Cat*, have pretended to make a Monopoly of our Sense. Thus it happens, that Mr. P——r, by being expelled the Club, ceases to be a Poet; and Sir Harry F——e becomes one, by being admitted into it. 'Tis here that Wit and Beauty are decided by Plurality of Voices: The Child's Judgment shall make *H——y* pass for a Fool; and *Jacob's* Indulgence shall preserve Lady *H——t* from the Tallow-Candle.

Mr. PRIOR's Criticism of Dr. Garth's Verses to Lord Godolphin.

It is the Misfortune of our *Athens*, like that of ancient *Greece*, to be governed by a Set Number of Tyrants: The Works of learned Men are weighed here by the unerring Balance of Party, and he is sure to be the most ingenious in his Writings, who is, in their Phrase, most thorough-paced in his Politics. *Treelooby* kept the general Applause for a whole Winter; while poor *Phædra* could scarce get into the Theatre, till she had thrown herself at the Feet of one of these *Reguli*. It was in this Mint that a curious Piece of Poetical Workmanship was lately wrought, and, by the Masters of the Company, allowed as current and authentick Coin. Notwithstanding which stamp of Authority, a Critic, unknown to me, has presumed to make some Observations upon this Performance; both which, I hope Dr. *Bently* will excuse me for publishing, since this is such Poetry as he has never found among the *Greek* or *Latin* Writers.

The HISTORY of

To the Earl of GODOLPHIN.

WHILST weeping *Europe* bends beneath
 her Ills,
 And where the Sword destroys not, Famine kills;
 Our Isle enjoys, by your successful Care,
 The Pomp of Peace amidst the Woes of War.
 So much the Public to your Prudence owes,
 You think no Labours long for our Repose:
 Such Conduct, such Integrity are shown,
 There are no Coffers empty but your own.
 From mean Dependance Merit you receive;
 Unask'd you offer, and unseen you give.
 Your Favour like the *Nile*, Increase bestows,
 And yet conceals the Source from whence it flows:
 So pois'd your Passions are, we find no Frown,
 If Funds oppress not, and if Commerce run.
 Taxes diminish'd, Liberty entire,
 Those are the Grants your Services require.
 Thus far the State-Machine wants no Repair,
 But moves in matchless Order by your Care:
 Free from Confusion, settled and serene,
 And, like the Universe, by Springs unseen.
 But now some Star, sinister to our Prayers,
 Contrives new Schemes, and calls you from Affairs.
 No Anguish in your Looks, nor Cares appear,
 But how to teach the unpractis'd Crew to Steer.
 Thus, like some Victim, no Constraint you need,
 To expiate their Offence, by whom you bleed.
 Ingratitude's a Weed in every Clime,
 It thrives too fast at first, but fades in Time.
 The God of Day, and your own Lot's the same,
 The Vapours you have rais'd, obscure your Flame.
 But though you suffer, and a while retreat,
 Your Globe of Light looks larger as you set.

A Letter to the EXAMINER.

I SEND you these Verses inclosed, which I
 read with great Attention; and from the
 Character

‘ Character of the Patron, as well as of the Poet,
‘ with no ordinary Inclination to be pleased. But
‘ so dull am I, that there does not appear, to my
‘ Apprehension, either Poetry, Grammar, or
‘ Design in the Composition. The whole
‘ seems to be, as the sixth Editor of the *Dispensary*
‘ happily expresses it,

A strong-unlabour'd Impotence of Thought!

‘ If we examine it by the new Test of good Poe-
‘ try, which the Doctor himself has established,
‘ pleasing at first Blush, has this Piece the least
‘ Title even to that? Or, if we compare it with
‘ the only Pattern, as he thinks, of just Writing
‘ of this kind, *Ovid*, is there any thing in *De*
‘ *Tristibus*, so wild, so childish, or so flat?

‘ What can the ingenious Doctor mean? Or at
‘ what Time could he write these Verses? Half of
‘ the Poem is a Panegyric on a Lord Treasurer in
‘ being; and the rest a Compliment of Condoleance
‘ to an Earl that has lost the Staff.

‘ In thirty Lines his Patron is a River, the *Pri-*
‘ *um Mobile*, a Pilot, a Victim, the Sun, any
‘ Thing, and Nothing. He bestows Increase,
‘ conceals his Source, makes the Machine move,
‘ teaches to steer, expiates our Offences, raises
‘ Vapours, and looks larger as he sets.

‘ Nor is the choice of his Expressions less exqui-
‘ site, than that of his Similes. *For Commerce to*
‘ *run, Passions to be poized, Merit to be * retriev-*
‘ *ed from Dependance, and a Machine to be Serene,*
‘ is perfectly new. The Doctor has a happy Ta-
‘ lent at Invention, and has had the Glory of en-
‘ riching our Language by his Phrases, as much
‘ as he has improved Medicine by his Bills.

‘ But to be more particular————

And where the Sword destroys not (says our Pa-
negyrist) Famine kills.

L 3

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* It is by Mistake printed *receive*, p. 320. l. 12.

The HISTORY of

‘ I could wish the Verse would have allowed of the
 ‘ Word *Plague*, or *Pestilence*; for I suppose that’s
 ‘ what the Author means. I have heard of the
 ‘ Plague at *Dantzick*; but what part of *Europe* Fa-
 ‘ mine rages in, I know not. Why won’t *Physic*
 ‘ stand here? It is better Sense, and runs as well.
 ‘ What the *Pomp of Peace* is, I as little compre-
 ‘ hend, as how it can be enjoy’d amidst the
 ‘ Woes of War.

*Such Conduct, such Integrity are shown,
 There are no Coffers empty but your own.*

‘ Since there is so little Poetry in this Couplet, I
 ‘ wish there were more Truth in it. Some Cof-
 ‘ fers, I have heard, were empty three Weeks
 ‘ ago; and if they are not so still, the Nation is
 ‘ more obliged to the Doctor’s unpractised Crew,
 ‘ than to the experienced Pilot.

Unask’d you offer——

‘ A great Discovery! I always thought till now,
 ‘ he that was ask’d might be said to give; but not
 ‘ properly to offer. The malicious part of the
 ‘ World will, I doubt, be apt to observe, That
 ‘ this Sentence, as it stands here, is as true in Fact,
 ‘ as it is exact in Language,

Your Favour, like the Nile, Increase bestows.

‘ If the Beauty of the Simile is to be judged of
 ‘ by the frequent Use which the Poets of all Ages
 ‘ have made of it, scarce any can come in Competi-
 ‘ tion with the Doctor’s River. The *Nile* on these
 ‘ Occasions is as trite, as the Stories of *Icarus* and
 ‘ *Phaeton*. I remember I used it when I was a-
 ‘ bout Twelve, in a *New-Year’s-Gift* to my Un-
 ‘ cle, and was heartily ashamed of it a Year after.
 ‘ A School-Boy can no more miss the *Nile*, than a
 ‘ French Author, when he Dedicates to the Grand
 ‘ Monarch,

- ‘ Monarch, can live without the Sun, that other
- ‘ Simile in which the Doctor rejoices.

——— *Some Stars, sinister to our Prayers,
Contrive new Schemes.*

- ‘ Alii legunt *Five Stars*; which makes this Pas-
- ‘ sage intelligible. I have often heard Astrologers
- ‘ talk of a sort of Influence the Stars have upon
- ‘ human Affairs; but I know of no Stars, but
- ‘ those in Mr. *Bickersstaff*'s Constellation, that ever
- ‘ contrived Schemes; and those two were erected
- ‘ under no very benign Aspect.

- ‘ My Lord's Care, he tells us, is to teach the
- ‘ unpractised Crew to steer. By Crew, we are to
- ‘ understand the Lords of the Treasury. A very
- ‘ civil Expression! But as to the sense of it: What
- ‘ Affinity is there between crew and steering? Is
- ‘ steering the business of the whole Ship's crew?
- ‘ This is the true Image of the *Whig Scheme*,
- ‘ where every Man is his own Pilot.

- ‘ If we read the two next Lines, we shall find
- ‘ these People have wounded him; and yet, like
- ‘ the best-natur'd Victim imaginable, he needs no
- ‘ constraint to expiate their Offence. All this is
- ‘ what the *French* call *Gallimatias*, and what the
- ‘ *English* Critics term *Nonsense*. But what fol-
- ‘ lows? *For whom you Bleed*. Bleed! What, is
- ‘ the Devil in the Doctor, to mention such a
- ‘ Word, and give so unlucky a Hint? I hoped
- ‘ that this point had been so well guarded, that
- ‘ there could be no farther need of an Act of secu-
- ‘ rity.

The God of Day, and your own Lot's the same.

- ‘ A hundred pound for a *Genitive Case*! as old
- ‘ *Busby* used to cry out upon such an Occasion.
- ‘ But to go on, from *Grammar* to *Decency*.
- ‘ Of this Happiness of *Great Britain*, is any part
- ‘ ascribed to the Queen? To this Machine, which

The HISTORY of

‘ moves so like the Universe, does the Royal
 ‘ Hand give any Turn? Methinks he might at
 ‘ least allow Her Majesty as much as his Friends
 ‘ did in the Coronation-Medal.

VICEM GERIT ILLA.

‘ But, as the Poet observes,

Ingratitude's a Weed in every Clime.

‘ He will give me leave, in my own Turn, to
 ‘ observe, That in *Don Sebastian* it is,

Ingratitude's the Growth of every Clime.

‘ What Occasion was there of altering a Verse he
 ‘ thought fit to steal? This is being a meer *Ban-*
 ‘ *ditti* in Poetry, to rob and murder too. But
 ‘ who is to be charged with this Ingratitude? The
 ‘ whole Body of the Nation did indeed wish the
 ‘ Treasurer out; but 'twas Her Majesty only that
 ‘ could displace him. Such are the Compliments
 ‘ which the Crown receives from this Anti-mon-
 ‘ archical Academy. Excellent Poets, dutiful
 ‘ Subjects!

‘ I could give you many more Observations up-
 ‘ on the Beauties of this sublime Panegyric, if I had
 ‘ my *Longinus* by me. It has been corrected, I
 ‘ find, twice or thrice already; and if the Author
 ‘ corrects it once more, I am so well acquainted
 ‘ with his lucky performances that way, that I
 ‘ don't doubt, but I shall be tempted to write to
 ‘ you again upon the same Subject. He will not
 ‘ be like himself, if he does not shift his Patron as
 ‘ well as his Phrases; and it won't surprize me at
 ‘ all, if in the next Edition the Poem should come
 ‘ out inscribed to the late Treasurer of *Ireland*.

‘ But I believe by this Time the Town is ti-

red

'red with the Verses, and you with the Criti-
'cisms of

Your most Humble Servant,

PHILODINGLE.

' My unknown Friend Mr. *Philodingle* has ta-
'ken my Province from me: However, I am ob-
'liged to him for his Essay. The best Return
'which can be made to an ingenious Man, is to
'afford him fresh matter to employ his Thoughts,
'and more Opportunities of shewing his Sagacity.
'For this Reason I present my Brother *Examiner*
'with a *Riddle*, which was sent me by a Sage,
'studious of *Egyptian* Knowledge, and much ad-
'dicted to the Hieroglyphics.

The RIDDLE.

SPHINX was a Monster, that would eat
Whatever stranger she could get;
Unless his ready Wit disclos'd
The subtle Riddle she propos'd.

OEdipus was resolv'd to go,
And try what strength of parts cou'd do.
Says *Sphinx*, On this depends your Fate;
Tell me what Animal is that,
Which has four Feet at Morning bright;
Has two at Noon, and three at Night?
'Tis Man, said he, who weak by Nature,
At first creeps like his Fellow-Creature,
Upon all four: As Years accrue,
With sturdy steps he walks on two:
In Age, at length, grown weak and sick,
For his third Leg adopts his Stick.

Now in your turn, 'tis just, methinks,
You should resolve me, madam *Sphinx*,
What stranger Creature yet is he,
Who has four Legs, then two, then three;

Then loses one, then gets two more;
And runs away at last, on four?

It seems as if Mr. *Addison* had begun his paper chiefly to pay his Regard to Mr. *PRIOR*'s Remarks and Riddle: the first Number of it, which we hear insert, being dated only a Week after them. I shall not interfere in the Dispute between these Gentlemen, farther than to deal impartially with both sides, and leave the comparison of their two pieces to the Reader's Judgment.

The WHIG-EXAMINER.

N^o. 1. Thursday September 14. 1710.

Mr. *Addi-*
son's An-
swer.

THE Design of this Work is to censure the Writings of others, and to give all Persons a Re hearing, who have suffered under any unjust sentence of the *Examiner*. As that Author has hitherto proceeded, his paper would have been more properly entitled the *Executioner*: At least, his Examination is like that which is made by the Rack and Wheel. I have always admired a Critic that has discovered the Beauties of an Author, and never knew one who made it his business to lash the Faults of other Writers, that was not guilty of greater himself; as the Hangman is generally a worse malefactor than the criminal that suffers by his Hand. To prove what I say, there needs no more than to read the Annotations which this Author has made upon Dr. *Garth*'s Poem, with the Preface in the Front, and a Riddle at the end of them. To begin with the first: Did ever an Advocate for a party open with such an unfortunate Assertion? *The Collective Body of the Whigs have already engrossed our Riches*: That is, in plain *English*, the Whigs are possess'd of all the Riches in the Nation. Is not this giving up all he has been contending for these six Weeks? Is there any thing more reasonable, than that those

who

‘ who have all the Riches of the Nation in their
 ‘ possession; or, if he likes his own phrase better,
 ‘ as indeed I think it is stronger, that those who
 ‘ have already engrossed our Riches, should have
 ‘ the management of our publick Treasures, and
 ‘ the direction of our Fleets and Armies? But let
 ‘ us proceed: *Their Representative the Kit-Cat*
 ‘ *have pretended to make a monopoly of our Sense.*
 ‘ Well, but what does all this end in? If the Au-
 ‘ thor means any thing, it is this: That to pre-
 ‘ vent such a monopoly of Sense, he is resolved to
 ‘ deal in it himself by Retail, and sell a penny-
 ‘ worth of it every Week. In what follows, there
 ‘ is such a shocking Familiarity both in his Rail-
 ‘ leries and Civilities, that one cannot long be in
 ‘ doubt who is the Author. The remaining part
 ‘ of the preface has so much of the Pedant, and so
 ‘ little of the Conversation of Men in it, that I
 ‘ shall pass it over, and hasten to the Riddles.

‘ The first part of this little mystical Poem is an
 ‘ old Riddle, which we could have told the mean-
 ‘ ing of, had not the Author given himself the
 ‘ trouble of explaining it; but as for the Expositi-
 ‘ on of the second, he leaves us altogether in the
 ‘ dark. The Riddle runs thus: *What Creature*
 ‘ *is it that walks upon four Legs in the Morning,*
 ‘ *two Legs at Noon, and three Legs at Night?* This
 ‘ he solves as our Forefathers have done for these
 ‘ two thousand Years; and not according to *Rabe-*
 ‘ *lais*, who gives another Reason why a Man is
 ‘ said to be a Creature with three Legs at Night.
 ‘ Then follows the second Riddle: *What Creature,*
 ‘ *says he, is it that first uses four Legs, then two*
 ‘ *Legs, then three Legs; then loses one Leg, then*
 ‘ *gets two Legs, and at last runs away upon four*
 ‘ *Legs?* Were I disposed to be splenetic, I should
 ‘ ask if there was any thing in the new Garland of
 ‘ Riddles so wild, so childish, or so flat: But tho’
 ‘ I dare not go so far as that, I shall take upon me
 ‘ to say, that the Author has stolen his Hint out of
 ‘ the Garland, from a Riddle which I was better
 ‘ acquainted

The HISTORY of

acquainted with than the Nile when I was but twelve Years old. It runs thus: *Riddle my Riddle my Ree, what is this? Two Legs sat upon three Legs, and held one Leg in her Hand; in came four Legs, and snatch'd away one Leg; up started two Legs, and flung three Legs at four Legs, and brought one Leg back again.* This Enigma, join'd with the foregoing two, rings all the Changes that can be made upon four Legs. That I may deal more ingenuously with my Reader than the above mentioned Enigmamist has done, I shall present him with a Key to my Riddle; which upon application he will find exactly fitted to all the Words of it: One Leg is a Leg of Mutton; two Legs is a Servant-maid, named so from the number of her Legs; three Legs is a Joint-stool, which in the *Sphinx's* Country was called a Tripode; as four Legs is a Dog, who in all Nations and Ages has been reckoned a Quadruped. We have now the Exposition of our first and third Riddles upon Legs; let us here, if you please, endeavour to find out the meaning of our second, which is thus in the Author's Words:

*What stranger Creature yet is he,
That has four Legs, then two, then three;
Then loses one, then gets two more,
And runs away at last on four?*

This Riddle, as the Poet tells us, was proposed by *Oedipus* to the *Sphinx*, after he had given his solution to that which the *Sphinx* had proposed to him. This *Oedipus*, you must understand, tho' the People did not believe it, was son to a King of *Thebes*, and bore a particular Grudge to the Treasurer of that Kingdom; which made him so bitter upon his Lordship in this Enigma.

*What stranger Creature yet is he,
That has four Legs, then two, then three?*

By

By which he intimates, that this great Man at
Thebes being weak by nature, as he admirably
 expresses it, could not walk as soon as he was
 born, but, like other Children, fell upon all
 four when he attempted it; that he afterwards
 went upon two Legs, like other Men; and that
 in his more advanced age, he got a white Staff
 in Queen *Jocasta's* Court, which our Author
 calls his third Leg. Now it so happened that
 the Treasurer fell, and by that means broke his
 third Leg, which is intimated by the next Words,
Then loses one, ——— Thus far I think we have
 travelled thro' the Riddle with good success.

*What stranger Creature yet is he,
 That has four Legs, then two, then three?
 Then loses one* ———

But now comes the difficulty that has puzzled
 the whole Town, and which I must confess has
 kept me awake for these three Nights:

————— *Then gets two more,
 And runs away at last on four.*

I at last thought the Treasurer of *Thebes* might
 have walk'd upon Crutches, and so ran away on
 four Legs, viz. two natural and two artificial.
 But this I have no Authority for; and therefore
 upon mature consideration do find that the words
 (*Then gets two more*) are only Greek Expletives,
 introduced to make up the Verse, and to signify
 nothing; and that *runs*, in the next Line, should
 be *rides*. I shall therefore restore the true anti-
 ent reading of this Riddle; after which it will
 be able to explain itself.

OEdipus speaks:

*Now in your Turn, 'tis just, methinks,
 You shou'd resolve me, Madam Sphinx,*

What

The HISTORY of

*What stranger Creature yet is he,
Who has four Legs, then two, then three;
Then loses one, then gains two more,
And rides away at last on four?*

I must now inform the Reader, that *Thebes* was on the Continent, so that it was easy for a Man to ride out of his Dominions on Horseback; an Advantage that a *British* Statesman would be deprived of. If he would run away, he must do it in an open Boat; for to say so of an *Englishman* in this Sense, that he runs away on all four, would be as absurd as to say, he clapped Spurs to his Horse at St. James's Gate, and gallopd away to the *Hague*.

Before I take my Farewel of this Subject, I shall advise the Author for the future to speak his meaning more plainly. I allow he has a happy Talent at Doggrel, when he writes upon a known Subject. Where he tells us in plain intelligible Language, how *Corisca's* Ladle was lost in one hole, and *Hans Carvel's* Finger in another, he is very jocular and diverting; but when he wraps a Lampoon in a Riddle, he must consider that his Jest is lost to every one but the few merry Wags that are in the secret. This is making darker Satires than ever *Persius* did. After this cursory view of the *Examiner's* performance, let us consider his Remarks upon the Doctor's. That general piece of Raillery which he passes upon the Doctor's considering the Treasurer in several different views, is that which might fall upon any Poem in *Waller*, or any other Writer who has diversity of Thoughts and Allusions: And though it may appear a pleasant Ridicule to an ignorant Reader, is wholly groundless and unjust. I do likewise dissent with the *Examiner*, upon the Phrases of *Passions being poised*, and of the retrieving Merit from Dependence, which are very beautiful and poetical. It is the same cavilling Spirit that finds fault with that Expression

‘ of the *Pomp of Peace amidst the Woes of War*, as
 ‘ well as of *offering unask'd*. As for the *Nile*, how
 ‘ *Icarus* and *Phaeton* came to be joined with it, I
 ‘ cannot conceive. I must confess they have been
 ‘ formerly used to represent the Fate of rash and
 ‘ ambitious Men; and I cannot imagine why the
 ‘ Author should deprive us of those particular Si-
 ‘ miles for the future. The next Criticism, upon
 ‘ the Stars, seems introduced for no other Reason
 ‘ but to mention Mr. *Bickerstaff*, whom the Au-
 ‘ thor every where endeavours to imitate and abuse.
 ‘ But I shall refer the *Examiner* to the Frog's Ad-
 ‘ vice to her little one, that was blowing itself up
 ‘ to the Size of an Ox :

————— *Non si Te ruperis, inquit,*
Par eris—————

‘ The Allusion to the Victim may be a Galli-
 ‘ matias in *French* Politics, but is an apt and noble
 ‘ Allusion to a true *English* Spirit. And as for the
 ‘ *Examiner's* Remarks on the Word *Bleed* (tho' a
 ‘ Man would laugh to see impotent Malice so little
 ‘ able to contain itself) one cannot but observe in
 ‘ them the Temper of the *Banditti*, whom he
 ‘ mentions in the same Paper, who always murder
 ‘ where they rob. The last Observation is upon
 ‘ the Line, *Ingratitude's a Weed of every Clime*.

‘ Here he is very much out of Humour with
 ‘ the Doctor, for having called that the *Weed*
 ‘ which *Dryden* only terms the *Growth* of every
 ‘ Clime. But, for God-sake, why so much Ten-
 ‘ derness for Ingratitude ?

‘ But I shall say no more. We are now in an
 ‘ Age where impudent Assertions must pass for Ar-
 ‘ guments: And I don't question but the same,
 ‘ who has endeavoured here to prove, that he who
 ‘ wrote the *Dispensary* was no Poet, will very sud-
 ‘ denly undertake to shew, that he who gained
 ‘ the Battle of *Blenheim* is no General.

Mr.

Mr. *Addison* published only five Numbers of the *Whig Examiner*. The second and fourth are in Answer to Lord *Bolingbroke's* Letter to the *Examiner*; but I must not insert them for want of Room. He is afterwards said to have assisted Mr. *Manswaring*, Mr. *Steele*, Dr. *Hare*, Mr. *Oldmixon*, and others, in carrying on the *Medley*, a Paper which, as it was intended only for an Answer to the *Examiner*, was dropped the next Week after it, in August 1711. I shall only observe of these two Rivals, that the *Examiner* was thought in general to have much the most Wit.

The Inclinations of the new Ministers were so effectually made known to the *French Court*, that the Marquis *de Torcy*, at the Beginning of the Year 1711, transmitted to *England* the following Propositions, which were dated the 22d of *April*.

The first
Propositions
of *France*.

AS it is not to be doubted but the King is in a Condition to maintain the War with Glory; so it cannot be esteemed a Sign of Weakness, that his Majesty breaks the Silence that he has kept since the Separation of the Conferences of *Gertruydenburgh*; and that before the Opening of the Campaign, he still gives new Proofs of the Desire that he has always preserved to procure the Re-establishment of the Repose of *Europe*: But after the Experience he has made of the Sentiments of those who now govern the Republic of *Holland*, and of their Industry to render the Negotiations fruitless, he is willing, for the Publick Good, to address to the *English* Nation the Propositions that he thinks fit to make to end the War, and firmly to secure the general Tranquility of Christendom.

It is with this View, that the King offers to treat of Peace upon the Basis of the following Conditions.

I. That the *English* shall have real Securities to exercise their Commerce hereafter in *Spain*, to the

‘ the *Indies*, and in the Ports of the *Mediterranean*.

II. The King will agree to form in the *Low Countries* a sufficient Barrier for the Security of the Republic of *Holland*; and this Barrier shall be agreeable to *England*, and to the good liking of the *English*; his Majesty promising, at the same Time an entire Liberty and Security for the Commerce of the *Dutch*.

III. ‘ Reasonable Means shall be sincerely and *bonâ fide* sought out for, to satisfy the Allies of *England* and *Holland*.

IV. ‘ As the good State of the Affairs of the King of *Spain* furnishes new Expedients to end the Difference touching that Monarchy, and to regulate it to the Content of the Parties interested, sincere Endeavours shall be used to surmount the Difficulties raised on this Occasion, and to secure the State, the Commerce, and generally the Interest of all the Parties engaged in the present War.

V. ‘ The Conferences to treat of the Peace upon the Basis of these Conditions shall be immediately opened, and the Plenipotentiaries that the King shall nominate to assist thereat, shall treat with those of *England* and *Holland* alone, or jointly with those of their Allies, at the Choice of *England*.

‘ VI. ‘ His Majesty proposes the Cities of *Aix la Chapelle* and *Leige* for the Place where the Plenipotentiaries shall be assembled, referring it to *England* to chuse one of those two Cities to treat therein of the general Peace. Given at *Marli* the twenty-second Day of *April*, 1711.

DE TORCY.

Mc.

April 27,

1711. O. S.

Mr. Secretary *St. John* transmits these Propositions to Lord *Raby*, the Queen's Ambassador at the *Hague*, with Orders to communicate them to the Pensionary, ' To assure that Minister the Queen ' was resolved in making Peace, as in making ' War, to act in perfect Concert with the States; ' and desires the Secret may be kept among as few ' as possible. He confesses that the Terms of the ' several Propositions are very general; that there ' is an Air of Complaisance shewn to *England*, and ' the contrary to *Holland*, which might be of ill ' Consequence, but can be of none, as long as the ' Queen and States take Care to understand each ' other, and to act with as little Reserve as becomes ' two Powers so nearly allied in Interest: And desires the Pensionary to be assured, that this Rule ' shall on our Part be inviolably observed.'

May 25 and

26, 1711.

N. S.

Lord *Raby*, by his Letters to Mr. *St. John*, in answer to these Orders and Assurances, acquaints him, ' That the Pensionary had, with those of ' that State who had been formerly employed in ' the Negotiations of Peace, considered Monsieur ' *De Torcy's* Propositions, and the obliging Manner ' in which Her Majesty was pleased to communicate them: That they thanked Her Majesty for ' Her Confidence in them, and assure Her, that ' theirs is reciprocal; and that as Her Majesty had ' promised, she will make no Step towards a Peace ' but in Concert with them, they desire she may ' be assured of the same on their Part; and that ' they will make no Step in that, or any other ' Kind of Negotiation, which regards the mutual ' Interests of both Nations, but in Communication ' and Concert with Her Majesty. They urge the ' Necessity of an entire Confidence one with the other, at this critical Juncture; they declare themselves weary of the War, which they endeavour ' to conceal from the Enemy, lest he should make ' his Advantage by it; and that they are ready to ' join in any Measures, which her Majesty shall ' think proper, to obtain a good Peace. But they

look

‘ look upon these Propositions as yet, in the same Manner as the Secretary does, to be very dark and general, and designed to create Jealousies between Her Majesty, that Republic, and the Allies; but they depend upon Her Majesty’s Justice and Prudence, to prevent any such ill Effect, and hope she will make the *French* explain, more particularly, the several Points contained in them.’

Lord *Raby* concludes, ‘ That he thought it advisable, and necessary, to go open with the States in this Matter of the Propositions; acquaints the Secretary that all the Letters from France agreed, that all the Hopes the *French* had was to sow Jealousies among the Allies.’ And repeats his Advice, ‘ That we must act cautiously with the States, that they may have no Reason to accuse us, for taking the least Measures without them.’

But it was not long before Mr. Secretary *St. John* prepared his Excellency to have other Sentiments of the Manner of carrying on this Negotiation, and acquaints him with the agreeable News, ‘ That it *May 29.*

‘ was Her Majesty’s Pleasure, that his Excellency should make all possible Haste to come over, since her Service may better dispense with his Absence at this Point of Time, than it will perhaps do at another, and since we must now expect to have very soon upon the *Tapis*, many Intrigues, concerning which the Queen thinks it expedient that he should confer with the Ministers here; acquaints him, that Her Majesty designed, upon his Arrival, to give him the * Promotion in the Peerage, which he had desired.’ And then, that his Excellency might begin to have some Notions agreeable to the Sense of our Ministers, Mr. *St. John*, in answer to some very long Letters of his Lordship’s, tells him in these Words, ‘ That *Britain* had gone so much too far in

* The making him Earl of *Strafford*; which was accordingly done.

‘weaving her Interest into that of the Continent,
‘that it would prove no easy Task to disentangle
‘our Affairs without tearing or rending.

June 16,

In answer to this, Lord *Raby* writes, ‘You may
‘be assured, I will venture any thing and under-
‘take any thing to serve the Queen; you may
‘venture boldly to trust me with the real Intenti-
‘ons, and be assured, I will not make further Use
‘of them, than according to my Instructions.’ He
tells him, ‘If the Thing is actually gone no further
‘than it appears, and *France* has not yet explained,
‘and he has a mind, that he should come over for
‘the Queen’s Service, he is ready to come in a
‘Yacht, Frigate, Packet-Boat, or any Way.’ And
concludes in short, ‘Dispose of me how you please;
‘for all my Desire is to serve her Majesty to her
‘Satisfaction, and I shall never grudge any Dan-
‘ger and Pains.’

Mr. PRIOR
sent to
France,

Things being thus disposed, Mr. PRIOR was
sent over to *France*, in order to set the Negoti-
ations on Foot. But as most of his Papers relating
thereto were either prudently concealed, or seized
by the Ministry of the late King; we must in ma-
ny Places rely on the Report of the *Secret Commit-
tee*, his professed Enemies, for an Account of what
passed.

October 1st,
1711.

All Transactions betwixt *England* and *France*
for some Time, except two or three Papers, were,
they assured us, intirely suppressed, which in Lord
Strafford’s Instructions are said to have been carried
on by Papers sent backward and forward, and
much Time spent therein. The first Paper that
was found, is called, *Private Propositions sent by
Mr. PRIOR from England*. They here follow.

Saturday the first of July, 1711.

Private Pro-
positions sent
to *France* by
Mr. PRIOR,

THAT the Man was to be sent over To-mor-
row for a final Answer.

‘That we would make no Peace but what should
‘be to the Satisfaction of all our Allies; that the
Dutch

' *Dutch* should have a Barrier, the Emperor one
' for their Security, and the Duke of *Savoy* one ;
' and that he should have restored all that was put
' into his Possession by the Emperor ; and that the
' *French* should restore all they had taken from
' him ; and that he should have what other Addi-
' tion should be thought proper ; and that Care
' should be taken to keep the Balance in *Italy* ; and
' that we should have positive Assurance that the
' Crowns of *France* and *Spain* should never be u-
' nited.

' That all our Allies should be satisfied accord-
' ing to their Agreements and Treaties with us.

' That the Trade of *Holland* should be secured.

In Relation to GREAT BRITAIN in particular.

' **T**HAT our Trade and Commerce should be
' settled and agreed, on such a Foot as will
' be to the Satisfaction of the Subjects of *Great*
' *Britain*.

' That the Government should be acknowledg-
' ed in *France*, as it is now settled in *Great Bri-*
' *tain*.

' That *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* should conti-
' nue in the Possession they now are in.

' That *Dunkirk* should be demolished.

' That the *Assiento* should be entirely in the
' Hands of *Great Britain* ; and that *France*, nor
' no other, should pretend to meddle in it, but
' *Britain* enjoy it after the Peace as the *French* do
' now.

' That *Newfoundland* should be entirely given
' up to the *English* ; that the Trade of *Hudson's*
' *Bay* should continue in the Hands of the *French*
' and *English*, as they are now.

' And that all Things in *America* should conti-
' nue in the Possession of those they should be found
' to be in at the Conclusion of the Peace.

' That all Advantages, or Liberty of Commerce,
' that has been or shall be granted to the *French* by
' the

‘ the *Spaniards*, shall be equally granted to the
 ‘ Subjects of *Great Britain*.

‘ That the Secret shall be inavoidably kept, till
 ‘ allowed to be divulged by the mutual Consent of
 ‘ both Parties concerned.

Mr. PRIOR'S
 Authority.

The next was a Paper called, Mr. PRIOR'S *Authority*. This was signed, ANNE R. at the Top, and A. R. at the Bottom, not countersigned, and without a Date; and the Contents were, *Mr. PRIOR is fully instructed and authorized to communicate to France our Preliminary Demands, and to bring us back the Answer.*

These two Papers together were Mr. PRIOR'S Powers and Instructions, or at least all that were given in by him on his Examination; but by an Entry in Lord *Strafford*'s Book, subjoined to these private Propositions carried over by Mr. PRIOR, it appears that Mr. PRIOR had Orders to see if *France* had full Powers from *Spain*.

There is no Account given of any Correspondence with Mr. PRIOR during his Stay in *France*; nor does the certain Time of his Continuance there appear. Upon his Arrival there, Monsieur *de Torcy* Aug. 3, N.S. tells Mr. *St. John*, ‘ He saw with great Pleasure
 ‘ M. PRIOR return after an Interval of so many
 ‘ Years; that he could have wished, he had had
 ‘ greater Liberty to employ those Talents which
 ‘ he was persuaded he would have made a good
 ‘ Use of; but he hopes Monsieur *Mesnager* will
 ‘ supply what he could not do.’ Upon his Return he was attended by Monsr. *Mesnager*, a Minister of *France*, vested with full Powers in due Form, * to treat, negotiate, conclude, and sign with such Ministers, as should be authorized in due Form, not by *Britain* only, but any of the Princes or Estates then in actual War with *France*.

Mr. PRIOR
 seized,

Mr. PRIOR, Monsr. *Mesnager*, and the Abbé *Gualtier*, were seized at *Canterbury* in their Way

* Dated *August 3*.

to London, by Mr. Macky, the Master of the Packet Boats, who had got Information of Mr. PRIOR's Journey: But it does not appear that they were long detained.

That Mons. Mesnager, upon his Arrival here, frequently conferred with the Queen's Ministers, appears by many Instances; but the subject Matter of these Conferences, the Times, Places, and particular Persons with whom he treated, we find no Account of, till the 20th of September, 1711.

By a Letter of Mr. Secretary St. John, then at London, of that Date to the Queen at Windsor, it appears, that the Lord Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain, Lord Dartmouth, and Mr. St. John, met Mons. Mesnager that Evening at Mr. PRIOR's House; which Meeting, as Mr. St. John says, was by Order of the Lords of the Committee of Council; but seems unknown to the Queen, until the Secretary acquainted her with it by this Letter.

M A D A M,

THE Lords of the Committee of Council met this Morning at the Cockpit, and directed the Earl of Dartmouth and myself to confer with Mons. Mesnager.

We saw him accordingly this Evening at Mr. PRIOR's House, where my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Chamberlain were likewise present.

He has put into our Hands the Answer signed by the King of France to the Demands last sent over by your Majesty's Order, and this Answer complies with every Article, except the Eight relating to North America: We find, however, that we shall be able to compound this Point, in the Manner which your Majesty some Time ago resolved to pass it in; provided France gave you Satisfaction upon the seventh Article, as she has now entirely done.

The Propositions which are to be sent into Holland, as the Foundation of a general Treaty, we have likewise received from him, and that : which

‘ which was thought most liable to Objection, has
 ‘ been very much mended. My Lord Treasurer
 ‘ having however proposed some farther Alterations
 ‘ in order to make the whole the more palatable
 ‘ abroad; and Monsieur *Mesnager* seeming inclined
 ‘ to agree to them; I am this Night to draw them
 ‘ into Form, for my Lords of the Council to consider
 ‘ To-morrow Morning.

‘ This, Madam, being the present Situation of
 ‘ the Treaty, your Servants are unanimously of Opinion,
 ‘ that the Warrant and Full Powers should
 ‘ be prepared this Night, and transmitted to your
 ‘ Majesty; by which Means, if it be your Pleasure,
 ‘ the latter may pass the Great Seal To-morrow.

‘ It is now so extremely late, and I have so much
 ‘ Business to do, which must of Necessity be got
 ‘ ready by Morning, that the whole Night would
 ‘ not suffice, if I was to engross the Instruments
 ‘ in my own Hand-writing; I therefore make use
 ‘ of a Clerk to transcribe them, but it is the same
 ‘ who has copied all the Papers which have passed
 ‘ in the Course of this Negotiation.

‘ There comes an exact Translation of the Full
 ‘ Powers in this Pacquet, the Words of which are
 ‘ very ample and extensive; but they are agreeable
 ‘ to the Form used by your Majesty upon such
 ‘ Occasions.

‘ My Lord Treasurer moved, and all my Lords
 ‘ were of the same Opinion, that Mr. PRIOR
 ‘ should be added to those who are impowered to
 ‘ sign; the Reason for which is, because he having
 ‘ personally treated with Monsieur *de Torcy*, is
 ‘ the best Witness we can produce of the Sense in
 ‘ which the General Preliminary Engagements
 ‘ are entered into: Besides which, as he is the
 ‘ best versed in matters of Trade of all your Majesty’s
 ‘ Servants who have been trusted in this Secret,
 ‘ if you shall think fit to employ him in the
 ‘ future Treaty of Commerce, it will be of Consequence
 ‘ that he has been a Party concerned in

‘ concluding

- concluding that Convention, which must be the
- rule of this Treaty. The rest of the Plenipoten-
- tiaries are all those who have the honour to sit in
- your Majesty's Cabinet-Council, which my
- Lords understood to be your Majesty's pleasure.
- The *Ostend* mail, which arrived last Night,
- brought no News.

I am, MADAM, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

At this meeting, the Letter informs us, Monf. *Mesnager* delivered to the *British* Ministers the answer, signed by the King of *France*, to the demands last sent over by *England*; which Demands and Answer were made the secret Preliminary Articles betwixt *Great Britain* and *France*, and were signed as such by Monf. *Mesnager* on the part of *Sept. 27*, *France*, and the acceptation of them by Lord ¹⁷¹¹, *Dartmouth*, and Mr. *St. John*, on the part of *Great Britain*.

And as Mr. *St. John*, in this Letter, represents it to the Queen, as the unanimous opinion of her Servants then present, that a Warrant and full powers should be prepared that Night, and transmitted to her Majesty to be signed, in order to pass the Great Seal the next Day; whereby the persons therein named, among whom was Mr. PRIOR, were to be constituted Plenipotentiaries, to meet and treat with Monf. *Mesnager*; a Warrant was accordingly prepared, and, with a translation of the full powers, sent to the Queen.

This Warrant under the Signet appears signed by the Queen, directing the Lord Keeper to affix the Great Seal to an Instrument thereunto annexed, containing her Commission to himself, and others, therein named, to meet and treat with the Sieur *Mesnager*: But it does not appear, that any such Instrument did pass the Great Seal, the Warrant

M

remaining

remaining not counter-signed, and endorsed, *Not used.*

On the same Day that the special preliminaries betwixt *Great Britain* and *France* were signed, another set of general preliminaries on the part of *France* was signed by Monsieur *Mesnager* only; which Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter to the Queen, says, were to be sent into *Holland*, as the Foundation of a general Peace; in which my Lord Treasurer had made some alterations, to make the whole more palatable Abroad. And on the same Day, a separate Article was signed in favour of the Duke of *Savoy*.

From this time a perfect confidence was established between the two Ministries of *England* and *France*; and in the Letters written in the month of *October*, a mutual sincerity is recommended and engaged for, and that a perfect unanimity be maintained for accomplishing the Work in hand.

Lord *Strafford*'s Instructions in order to his immediate return into *Holland* were now preparing, and dated *Oct. 1. O. S. 1711*. And as an early proof of the confidence which Mr. *St. John* reposed in the *French* Minister, he acquaints Monsr. *de Torcy* by Letter, that the Earl of *Strafford* was going for *Holland*; and says, 'Your Minister, (meaning Monsieur *Mesnager*, who was then going back to *France*, and carried this Letter,) is fully informed in what the Earl of *Strafford* is to propose to the States.'

Lord *Strafford*'s chief Business was to deliver to the States the propositions signed by Monsieur *Mesnager*, as the Foundation of a general Peace, and as the whole of what had been transacted; and to acquaint them, that *France* had proposed *Utrecht*, *Nimeguen*, *Aix la Chapelle*, or *Liege*, to be the place for opening the Conferences: To press the States to fix upon one of these places, and immediately to grant Passports to the *French* Plenipotentiaries to come thither, and open the general Conferences.

These

These propositions, so very general, did extremely alarm the States, as not being, in their opinion, a sufficient Foundation upon which a Negotiation might be hazarded.

They sent over Monsieur *Buys* to intercede with her Majesty to alter her Resolutions: They made the same Representations to the Earl of *Strafford*; but all to no purpose. For, as Mr. *St. John* declared in a Letter to my Lord *Strafford*, ‘*Cer- Oct. 9.*
tain it is that her Majesty has so far determined upon her Measures, that those will deceive themselves who may imagine by delay or other Artifices to break them.’ And again, ‘the *Nov. 2.*
Queen will not finally concert a Plan for the prosecution of the War with the States, until they join with her in agreeing to open the Conferences of Peace.’ And Lord *Strafford* acquaints Mr. *St. John*, ‘That he had now told them her Ma- *Nov. 15.*
jesty’s order to him was to declare, That she should look upon any delay as a refusal to comply with her propositions.

In these circumstances the *Dutch* at last comply to grant the Passports, and agree to open the general Conferences at the time fixed by the Queen, *January* the 1st, 1711-12.

The representations made by the States, on both sides the Water, did however make some impressions, as is evident by a memorial delivered by Mr. *St. John* to the Abbot *Gaultier*, and by Mr. *St. Oct. 29.*
John’s Letter to Monsieur *de Torcy* that accompanied it: Yet it is in the memorial declared, ‘That the Queen remains firm in her first resolution of causing the Conferences to be opened upon the Articles signed by Monsieur *Mesnager*.’ The same memorial declares, ‘it was absolutely necessary that the most Christian King should give to Her Majesty, the Queen, such explications of his Intentions in respect to the particular Interests of the Allies, which he shall think proper to engage them to come more easily into the general Negotiation.

The HISTORY of

Nov. 18.

The return made by *France* was contained in a paper called, *Answer to the Memorial brought by Monsieur Gaultier*. This memorial is accompanied with a Letter from *Monsieur de Torcy* to Mr. *St. John*, of the same date, wherein he tells him, ' His Majesty wholly depends upon the secrecy and good use you will make of the entire confidence he testifies to the Queen of *Great Britain*; and the King of *France* extols the firmness of the Queen, and sees with great pleasure the new marks of resolution she shews.'

Pursuant to the resolution of the States-General upon the pressing Instances of the Queen, Passports for the *French* Plenipotentiaries were sent to *Mons. Buys*, and delivered to Mr. *St. John*. *Utrecht* was agreed upon here, to be the place for the general Conferences.

Plenipotentiaries appointed.

The Bishop of *Bristol*, then Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Strafford*, were appointed Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries. And *December* the 23d, 1711, Her Majesty's Instructions to Her said Plenipotentiaries were settled and signed, wherein the Plenipotentiaries are ordered, ' That if it shall be thought proper to begin by the disposition of the *Spanish* Monarchy, you are to insist that the security and reasonable satisfaction which the Allies expect, and which his most Christian Majesty has promised, cannot be obtained, if *Spain* and the *West Indies* be allotted to any branch of the House of *Bourbon*.' So that hitherto the Queen thought fit to declare, in all public Acts, that *Spain* and the *West Indies* ought by no means to be left in the possession of the House of *Bourbon*.

They meet at *Utrecht*.

On the 15th of *January*, 1711-12, the *British* Plenipotentiaries arrive at *Utrecht*, who by their general Instructions being ordered to concert measures with the Ministers of the Allies, and at the beginning pursuing these directions; *Monsieur de Torcy* writes to Mr. *St. John*, and tells him, ' He perceives there was not so perfect a confidence established

Jan. 31.
1712.

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who had bef

‘ established between the * Plenipotentiaries of
 ‘ *France* and *Great Britain*, as was to be desired :
 ‘ He believes therefore he will think it proper to
 ‘ send to the Bishop of *Bristol* and the Earl of
 ‘ *Strafford* more precise Instructions, concerning
 ‘ the manner, in which they were to concert their
 ‘ proceedings with the King’s Plenipotentiaries.’
 And in the Answer to the memorial sent by *Monf.*
Gaultier, it is declared, ‘ The principal Order *March 28,*
 ‘ that the King had given to his Plenipotentiaries, *1712.*
 ‘ when they set out for *Utrecht*, was to establish a
 ‘ strict Intimacy between them and the Ministers
 ‘ of the Queen of *Great Britain*.’

I should exceed the bounds I have prescribed my
 self, should I insert all that passed in this remarka-
 ble Congress, and which is already sufficiently pub-
 lic. In what follows therefore, I shall confine my
 self to the more private Negotiations that were car-
 ried on at the *French Court*, in which Mr. PRIOR
 was immediately concerned.

While matters at the Congress went on slowly,
 it was thought proper and necessary in *England*, that
 Lord *Bolingbroke* should go himself to *France*, fi-
 nally to adjust and settle the great points in dispute.

The substance of his Instructions was, ‘ To re- Lord *Boling-*
 ‘ move all difficulties and differences that might ob- broke’s In-
 ‘ struct the general suspension of Arms between structions
 ‘ *England* and *France* from taking place, or sett- for his Em-
 ‘ ling the Treaty of Peace in such a course, as bassy to
 ‘ may bring it to a happy and speedy conclusion. *France.*
 ‘ But to declare, that he does not imagine there
 ‘ will be any possibility to prevail with the Queen
 ‘ to sign the Peace with *France* and *Spain*, unless
 ‘ full satisfaction be given to his Royal Highness
 ‘ the Duke of *Savoy*, and unless they can take him
 ‘ along with them in the doing thereof. He is there-
 ‘ fore to take particular care to settle his Barrier,
 ‘ and to procure *Sicily* for him; to settle the Re-
 ‘ nunciation in such a manner, that there may be

* The *Marschal d’Uxelles*, and the *Abbé de Polignac*,
 who had before treated at *Gertruydenburgh*.

‘ as little room left as possible for dispute or delay;
 ‘ that the Elector of *Bavaria* may have *Sardinia*,
 ‘ and be restored to his Dominions in the Empire,
 ‘ except the *Upper Palatinate* and the first Electo-
 ‘ rate; and when he has had satisfaction in these
 ‘ points, he is to proceed to speak to such Articles
 ‘ as relate particularly to the Interest of *Great Bri-*
 ‘ *tain*, and endeavour to have such of them, as there
 ‘ may appear to be any doubt concerning, ex-
 ‘ plained in the most advantageous manner. And
 ‘ then he is to do his best to discover upon the several
 ‘ parts of the general plan of Peace, what the real
 ‘ *Ultimatum* of *France* may be: And when the
 ‘ Peace between *England* and *France* shall be sign-
 ‘ ed, that it may be expedient to fix the Allies a
 ‘ time to come in, wherein the Queen will use her
 ‘ good Offices, but will not be under any Obliga-
 ‘ tion to impose upon the Allies the Scheme offer-
 ‘ ed by *France*, or to debar them from obtaining
 ‘ better Terms for themselves.’

With these Instructions Lord *Bolingbroke* went to *France*; and as to his proceedings there, we have a full account of them in two Letters to Lord *Dartmouth*, from which the following passages are extracted,

His Negotia-
 tion there.

“ *Monf. de Torcy* and I began with the Interests of the Duke of *Savoy*, from whence the principal Obstacle to the conclusion of the suspension of Arms by Sea and Land arose, and after some contestation have adjusted them in this manner.

The Right of this Prince and of his Family to the Crown of *Spain* and the *Indies*, after *Philip* and his Descendants, is to be substituted in the same Acts and at the same time as the several Renunciations and Settlements are made, declared, and confirmed, which are necessary to accomplish the Article for preventing the Union of the two Monarchies.

On the cession of *Sicily* he would have adhered to the terms of his last dispatch, and urged the absurdity

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furdity of giving this Kingdom away till they were sure of making Peace with *Savoy*. This point being over, there was little dispute about the time when his Royal Highness shall be put into the actual possession of this Kingdom: We have settled it to be on the Ratification of a general Peace, or of a Peace between the Queen, *France*, *Spain*, and *Savoy*.

I wish I could have prevailed on the Head of the Barrier as far as I did on the other two; but it was impossible, at least it was so for me. Monsieur *de Torcy* represented that *Exilles*, *Fenestrelles*, and the Valley of *Pragelas*, besides the Restitution of all which *France* is in possession of, was the utmost which the King would ever consent, or had ever consented to give.

The next Head to which he proceeded, was that of the Renunciations and Settlements necessary to prevent the Union of the two Crowns, and in treating of this I cannot say that I met with any difficulty. I gave no Hopes that any Expedient would be accepted to sign the Peace before this Article was entirely accomplished; though Monsieur *de Torcy* proposed that the Peace should not be delayed for it, but the Ratifications should. He has since consulted Monsieur *Bergheyk*, and they are of Opinion that a Month's, or at farthest six Weeks time, will suffice to pass all the Forms; so that I am desired to recommend the dispatch of my Lord *Lexington*, or whoever else the Queen shall think fit to send into *Spain*.

The Draught of *Philip's* Act of Renunciation, and the Minutes taken by Monsieur *de Torcy* and me, both which I transmit to your Lordship, will, I suppose, be a sufficient Ground-work of Instructions to those whom Her Majesty shall chuse to send hither and to *Madrid*.

The last point, and that on which we had the warmest Debates, was concerning the Elector of *Bavaria*. Monsieur *de Torcy* turned this matter several ways, and made variety of propositions.

The HISTORY of

At last he rested on this, that the Queen should engage to procure for the Elector the Dutchy and Electorate of *Bavaria*, exclusive of the *Upper Palatinate*, and the Rank in the Electoral College; and that she should promise to maintain him in the possession of the Dutchies and Towns of *Luxemburg* and *Namur*, and in the possession of *Charleroy* and *Nieuport*, until such an Equivalent for these Countries and Places was given him as he should be satisfied with. This proposition I positively refused to assent to, and told *Monf. de Torcy* very plainly, that leaving these Towns and Places in the Elector's possession till he had such an Equivalent as he should be satisfied with, was really giving them absolutely to him, which I knew Her Majesty neither could or would admit: Further, that Her Majesty would enter into no Engagements to procure any Thing for the Elector, or even to use Her Offices in his behalf: But that Her Majesty would not oppose his having *Sardinia*, which Equivalent had been proposed first from hence. This I let him know was the sum of all he was to expect from the Queen, and your Lordship will find the Minutes drawn accordingly.

The Suspension being now signed, I shall, pursuant to my Instructions, dispatch Her Majesty's Orders to *Sir John Jennings*, to *Mr. Chetwynd*, and to the Officer who commands the Queen's Troops in *Catalonia*.

The Chevalier has fixed his departure on the first of next Month, N. S. They propose that he shall retire to *Bar*; and they intend to write to the Duke of *Lorraine*, to ask of the Emperor, and other Princes, a security for his Person during his residence in that Place.

I enclose the Convention for the Armistice in the *Netherlands*, which your Lordship will have occasion for, and which, with the Act of Renunciation, and the minutes transmitted to you, will afford sufficient materials for my Lord *Lexington's* Instructions.

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As I intend to leave this place on *Wednesday* at furthest, it will be proper to lose no time in dispatching a Letter of Credence to Mr. PRIOR, to whom your Lordship will likewise please, as soon as possible, to send the Queen's Ratification."

It appears by these Extracts, that Mr. PRIOR Mr. PRIOR R was in *France* with Lord *Bolingbroke*, and pitched left in upon to be left there, on his Lordship's departure, France. to accommodate such matters as were yet unsettled. He went over, as we learn from the state of his Accounts printed at the End of this Work, on the 1st of *August* this Year, and from the End of that Month had the Appointments and Authority of an Ambassador, though he did not assume the public Character till after the Duke of *Shrewsbury's* departure the next Year, when his Journal begins. We find however, in what follows, that the burthen of the Embassy lay on him even during his Grace's stay, who rather gave a sanction to it by his high Quality, than contributed to the dispatch of the Negotiations.

Immediately after Lord *Bolingbroke's* arrival in *England*, he wrote this long and remarkable Letter to Mr. PRIOR, concerning the state of Affairs at that time.

September 10th, 1712. O. S.

I WAS equally surprized and vexed to find, Lord Bolingbroke to Mr. PRIOR, that by the uncouth way of explaining the Queen's Sense, you had been led to imagine, that it was intended my Lord *Lexington* should make any difficulty of seeing and complimenting the King of *Spain* as such.

We spent above three Hours in penning minutes Yesterday upon this Head, which was long ago adjusted. I suppose the Instructions will be at last clear; but my Lord *Lexington* having been present at the Debate, his understanding of the matter

‘ matter will make amends for any dark ambiguous Article which may be in them.

‘ *Dartmouth* is to communicate the Queen’s Orders herein to you, that so you may be able to satisfy the *French* Ministers, and they to prepare the *Spanish* Ministers: However, I will venture to tell you in a few Words what I understand is to be the measure of Lord *Lexington*’s conduct. As soon as he arrives at *Madrid*, he will notify his arrival to the Secretary of State; he will when he sees this Minister let him know, that the Queen has sent him thither to compliment the King in her Name, to be a Witness of the several Renunciations, and other Acts requisite to complete the Execution of the Article agreed upon as necessary to prevent the Union of the two Monarchies: That after this, he is to proceed to settle such matters of Commerce, and other Affairs as are to the mutual Interest of both Nations, and so take the Character of Ambassador upon him. My Lord will at the same time produce his Credentials, and give the Secretary a Copy of them if he desires it. In this Conference he will further take notice of the several Cessions made by the King of *France*, in behalf of his Grandson to the Queen, and will speak of them as Points which he looks upon to be concluded. He will likewise give a memorial of them in Writing, signed by himself, to the Secretary, and expect from him an Assent in the King’s name, in Writing also, and signed by the Secretary.

‘ This seems natural, civil, and unexceptionable; but any other Scheme is absurd, and inconsistent with all the rest of our proceedings.

‘ For God sake, Dear *Matt.* hide the nakedness of thy Country, and give the best turn thy fertile Brain will furnish thee with to the Blunders of thy Countrymen, who are not much better Politicians than the *French* are Poets!

‘ I have writ in great haste a prodigious long Letter to Monsieur *de Torcy*, which, I believe,

‘ be

he will shew you; but for fear he should not, I enclose in this an extract of part of it, which relates to a matter that has given Lord Treasurer and your humble Servant no small trouble in Cabinet. The copy of the Plenipotentiaries dispatch of the second of *September*, which I likewise send you, will shew you how a dispute now on foot at *Utrecht* begun: You will observe that their Lordships are very warm in it, and I can assure you we have those who are not a jot cooler.

The solution of this difficulty must come from you; it is matter of management and appearance, more than of substance; and the Court of *France* must be less Politic than I think them at any time, and more unreasonable than I think them at this time, not to come into a Temperament upon a matter unnecessarily started. You must begin by making Monsieur *de Torcy* not only to understand, but own he understands the Proposition, which, I am sure he remembers; I more than once repeated to him when I was in *France*, upon various Occasions, and which I have again stated as clearly as I am able. The Queen can never do any thing, which shall look like a direct restraint on her Allies from demanding what they judge necessary: But as long as they act the part which they now do, she can very justly be passive and neuter as to their Interests; and if her Peace be made before theirs, which she will not delay for them, she can with the same justice leave them to make their own Bargain. This is Advantage enough for *France*, and such an one, fairly speaking, as a Year ago they would have given more than *Tournay* to have been sure of: They must not therefore press us to go further than this, nor do any thing which may seem contradictory to what the Queen delivered from the Throne. That Speech they have always owned as the plan they submitted

to,

‘ to, and it varies but little from that brought
‘ hither by *Gaultier*.

‘ In a word, the use which the *French* will make
‘ of the unaccountable obstinacy of the *Dutch* and
‘ other Allies, may in several respects, and par-
‘ ticularly for aught I know in this Instance of
‘ *Tournay*, give them an opportunity of saving and
‘ gaining more than they could have hoped for;
‘ and the Queen may in the present Circumstances
‘ contribute passively to this end, but actively she
‘ never can in any circumstances.

‘ I think in my own Opinion, and I believe
‘ speak the Queen’s upon this Occasion, that it
‘ were better the *French* should in the course of the
‘ Treaty declare, that whatever they intended to
‘ have given the *Dutch*, when the Queen spoke
‘ from the Throne, their conduct has been such,
‘ and the situation of their Affairs so altered, that
‘ the King is resolved to have *Tournay* restored to
‘ him; I say, I believe this were better, than to
‘ expect we should consent to an Exposition of the
‘ Queen’s Words, by which Her Majesty would
‘ yield the Town up.

‘ Let the Conferences begin as soon as they can,
‘ I dare say, Business will not be very speedily
‘ dispatched in them: In the mean Time we shall
‘ go on to ripen every thing for a conclusion be-
‘ tween Us and *Savoy*, *France*, and *Spain*; and
‘ this is the true point of View which the *French*
‘ ought to have before their Eyes.

‘ You will be very shortly particularly and fully
‘ instructed to settle the Article of *North America*,
‘ and those points of Commerce still undetermi-
‘ ned. That done, the Ministers may sign at *Utrecht*,
‘ as soon as they can hear from Lord *Lexington*.

‘ My Lord *Dartmouth* writes to you concerning
‘ a Clamour which our Merchants have raised, as
‘ if under pretence of not carrying to *Lisbon* or
‘ *Barcelona* * *des Provisions de Guerre ou de Bouche*,
‘ they shall be debarred from their usual Traffic of

* Provisions either of Arms or Victuals.

‘ Corn

‘ Corn and Fish, which at those places there are
 ‘ great demands for in time of Peace as well as
 ‘ in War, and without any consideration of the
 ‘ Armies. The difficulty as to *Lisbon* seems to be
 ‘ removed by the *Portuguese* submitting to come
 ‘ into the suspension of Arms, and he proposes to
 ‘ you an Expedient as to *Barcelona*: But in truth,
 ‘ that War must be ended of course now, since
 ‘ the Queen supports it no longer, and the *Dutch*
 ‘ are re-calling their Fleet from the *Streights*. The
 ‘ Duke of *Argyle* is going immediately now away,
 ‘ and the moment he comes to *Minorca*, he draws
 ‘ every thing belonging to the Queen out of *Ca-*
 ‘ *talonia*: The Imperial Troops must in my Opi-
 ‘ nion that moment submit, and compound for
 ‘ transportation; and when the War is at an End,
 ‘ I think there can be no pretence of quarrelling
 ‘ with us for carrying our Goods to the People of
 ‘ the Country.

‘ It is now three o’Clock in the Morning: I
 ‘ have been hard at Work all Day, and am not
 ‘ yet enough recovered to bear much Fatigue; ex-
 ‘ cuse therefore the confusedness of this scroll,
 ‘ which is only from *Harry* to *Matt*. and not from
 ‘ the Secretary to the Minister.

‘ Your Credentials of Minister Plenipotentiary
 ‘ will be sent you, together with your Full Powers,
 ‘ by the next Boat, and before * Duke *Hamilton*
 ‘ goes, I will move to have you removed to *U-*
 ‘ *trecht*, which there will be a natural handle for,
 ‘ as soon as you shall settle the points of Commerce,
 ‘ and in doing that, have given the last stroke to
 ‘ the finishing the Treaty with *France*.

‘ Make my compliments to Madam *Teriol*, and
 ‘ let her know that I have, I hope, put her Affair
 ‘ into a way of being finished to her satisfaction.

* Duke *Hamilton* was appointed Ambassador to *France*;
 but being killed in a Duel by Lord *Mobun*, the Duke of
Strevensbury was sent in his Place.

‘ I have spoken very earnestly to *Maffei*, and have
 ‘ used the proper Arguments to him.

‘ Adieu! My pen is ready to drop out of my
 ‘ Hand. Believe that no Man loves you better,
 ‘ or is more faithfully,

Yours, &c.

BOLINGBROKE.

P. S. ‘ I had almost forgot to tell you. that the
 ‘ Queen is pleased to discharge the Marechal
 ‘ * *Tallard*’s Parole, which you may assure him
 ‘ of, with my compliments, and give any signifi-
 ‘ cation necessary in Form.’

I must add two or three things to this Letter, by
 way of Explanation and Remark.

Remarks
 on the
 Letter.

First, It appears that Lord *Dartmouth* had by
 mistake acquainted Mr. PRIOR, that Lord *Lex-
 ington* should not acknowledge PHILIP as King
 of *Spain*, till he had agreed to the Demands his
 Lordship was to make in the Queen’s Name. Mr.
 PRIOR having transmitted this Order to Lord
Lexington, the procedure was very much disliked
 in *France*. Hereupon Mr. PRIOR writes a Letter
 to Lord *Dartmouth*, to induce our Ministry to re-
 cede from this point; concluding with the follow-
 ing passage: ‘ The whole Treaty being eventual,
 ‘ this acknowledgment of PHILIP as King of
 ‘ *Spain*, will fall, as the other points, unless the
 ‘ conditions are made good, and the Peace agreed
 ‘ to and ratified.’ In answer to this, Lord *Boling-
 broke* wrote the beginning of his Letter.

Secondly, That the Ministry here, as well as
 the Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, were much em-
 barassed about the dispute that had arisen concern-
 ing the Town of *Tournay*, and that Mr. PRIOR

* He had some Time before been permitted to go to
France on his Parole,

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was left to settle this point with the *French* Ministry.

Thirdly, That the Claims on *North America*, and the Business of Commerce, were the most essential Articles now to be concluded between *England* and *France*, and that these were to be adjusted by Mr. PRIOR, before the Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* could proceed.

Just about this Time advice came, that the *French* had invaded the Leeward Islands. Such a step as this was far from being expected, and Lord *Bolingbroke* writes thus of it to Mr. PRIOR.

‘ This, Dear *Matt.* proves a very untoward *Sept. 19.*
 ‘ *Contretemps*; it gives a Theme to the Whigs, O. S.
 ‘ and serves to awaken Passions that were almost
 ‘ lulled asleep. We expected that *Cassari's* Squa-
 ‘ dron might be gone to the Coast of *Brazil*, or to
 ‘ *Surinam*; but we never imagined our Colonies
 ‘ would have been attacked by him, at the time
 ‘ when we were knitting the Bands of Friendship
 ‘ between the two Nations with all possible industry.
 ‘ Could this ill Opinion of our new Friends have
 ‘ entered into our Heads, I do assure you he should
 ‘ have been accompanied by a Fleet of the Queen's,
 ‘ which would have kept him in Respect. In a
 ‘ Word, we depended so much upon the good Un-
 ‘ derstanding, which we thought established, and
 ‘ were so earnest to prevent any thing which might
 ‘ break in upon it, that we not only avoided to
 ‘ fortify our Squadron as we might have done, but
 ‘ we also neglected to put in Execution some De-
 ‘ signs, which would have annoyed both *French*
 ‘ and *Spaniards*, perhaps more than any that have
 ‘ been effected in the course of this War.

This Affair, however, did not put a stop to the Negotiations that were on foot. The latter end of *October* Mr. PRIOR was sent into *England* by the King of *France*, to prevail with the Queen to join him in obtaining the Elector of *Bavaria's* Demands.

mands. He brought with him a Credential Letter to the Queen, which is here inserted.

Versailles, October 28th, 1712.

Madam, My Sister,

The King
of France's
Credential
Letter sent
by Mr.
PRIOR.

‘ **Y**OU having acquainted me, that You have
‘ an entire confidence in Mr. PRIOR, I
‘ thought he would be more capable than
‘ any Body, to inform You of the new proofs that
‘ I am ready to give You, of the particular Re-
‘ gard I have for You, as also of my desire to ter-
‘ minate without any delay, in concert with You,
‘ the Negotiations of Peace. He goes into *England*
‘ to give You an account of the further advances
‘ that I am willing to make, to facilitate an en-
‘ tire conclusion of this Work. I would have You
‘ therefore regard what I do in this decisive Con-
‘ juncture, as new and certain marks of my
‘ Friendship for You; and do me that pleasure to
‘ acknowledge them, by Interesting Yourself with
‘ me in favour of the Elector of *Bavaria*. I do not
‘ remind You of the Ties of Blood which unite
‘ him as well to You as me, nor of any other Rea-
‘ sons which ought to render You sensible of his
‘ Condition: It is sufficient for me that You are
‘ sensible of the concern that I have in what re-
‘ gards him; and I am persuaded that this will be
‘ the principal motive that will press you to act
‘ in his Favour. I expect with Impatience the
‘ return of Mr. PRIOR, whose conduct is very
‘ agreeable to me: And as he will assure You of
‘ what my Sentiments are, I will only add that
‘ he cannot sufficiently express the perfect Esteem
‘ and sincere Friendship I have for You.

I am,

Madam, My Sister,

Your Good Brother,

LOUIS.

About

About the Middle of *November* Mr. PRIOR was sent back into *France* with new Instructions, and the following Letter from Her Majesty to the *French* King. These two remarkable Letters are lasting Testimonies of the high Confidence Mr. PRIOR was in, not only with his own Sovereign, whom he had long and faithfully served, but with the King of *France*, whom he had more than once made the Object of his Satire.

Windsor, November 14th, 1712.

Monsieur, My Brother,

I HAVE received with a very sincere Pleasure the agreeable Letter which Mr. PRIOR brought Me from You. As your consummate Wisdom hath taken the Resolution that is most proper to fix the Terms of the Peace, You'll be persuaded, that I will not on my Part lose a Moment to hasten the Conclusion of it. I assure You, that the great Facility that you are willing to lend towards it out of a Regard to Me, shall be made no other Use of, than to be employed without any Delay to re-establish the public Tranquillity, according to the Wishes of Us both. By the Orders that I give to My Ministers at *Utrecht*, it will appear that I do all that is in My Power at the present Conjunction, in favour of a Prince, whose Interest is supported by your Generosity.

The Queen's
Answer sent
back by Mr.
PRIOR.

I do not at all doubt, but he himself is fully convinced of it, and that all the World agrees in it; I again repeat, Monsieur my Brother, that the Consideration of Your Friendship will be a very prevailing Motive to engage Me anew in his Interest, and in the Interest of his Family, as Occasion shall offer, for the Future: As to the rest, I send back Mr. PRIOR to *Versailles*, who in continuing to conduct himself in the Manner that shall be entirely agreeable to You, does no more than execute to a Tittle the Orders which

‘ which I have given him ; and amongst all the
 ‘ Proofs of his Duty and Zeal for my Service, I
 ‘ expect in a very particular Manner that he should
 ‘ take all possible Occasions to repeat to You the
 ‘ Esteem and perfect Regard that I have for You,
 ‘ and My earnest Desire to live with You in a sin-
 ‘ cere and perpetual Friendship.’

With Regard to the *Newfoundland* Fishery, and
 other Articles relating to *America*, it appears that
 thro’ the wonted Insincerity of the *French*, there
 was much Trouble in getting those Matters ad-
 justed. Lord *Bolingbroke* writes concerning them,
 both to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* and Mr. PRIOR.
 To the latter he expresses himself thus :

Lord *Boling-*
broke to Mr.
 PRIOR,
Jan. 19th,
 17¹²/₁₃.
 Q. S.

‘ I have exhausted all my Stock of Arguments
 ‘ in the long Letter which, by the Queen’s Or-
 ‘ der, I write to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* : To
 ‘ you I can only add, We stand indeed upon the
 ‘ Brink of a Precipice, but the *French* stand there
 ‘ too. Pray tell Monsieur *de Torcy* from me, that
 ‘ he may get *Robin* and *Harry* hanged ; but Af-
 ‘ fairs will soon run back into so much Confusion,
 ‘ that he will wish us alive again. To speak se-
 ‘ riously, unless the Queen can talk of Her Inte-
 ‘ rests as determined with *France* ; and unless your
 ‘ Court will keep our Allies in the Wrong, as
 ‘ they are sufficiently at this Time, I foresee in-
 ‘ extricable Difficulties.

‘ My Scheme is this : Let *France* satisfy the
 ‘ Queen, and let the Queen immediately declare
 ‘ to Her Parliament, and in the Congress, That
 ‘ She is ready to sign : At the same Time let the
 ‘ *French* Plenipotentiaries shew a Disposition to
 ‘ conclude with all the Allies.’ And then his
 Lordship enumerates the several Offers which he
 would have *France* make to the several Allies ;
 and says, ‘ If such Overtures as these were not
 ‘ instantly accepted, our separate Peace would,
 ‘ sitting the Parliament, be addressed for, made,
 ‘ and approved ; and the Cause of *France* for once
 ‘ become popular in *Britain*.

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' If they were accepted, let Monsieur *de Torcy*
' sit down and consider, what a Bargain would be
' made for *France* ; let him remember his Jour-
' ney to the *Hague*, and compare the Plans of
' 1709, and 1712.

' Monsieur *de Torcy* has a Confidence in you :
' Make use of it once for all upon this Occasion,
' and convince him thoroughly, that we must give
' a different Turn to our Parliament and our Peo-
' ple, according to their Resolution at this Crisis.'

The next Letter from his Lordship to Mr. PRI-
OR, is upon the same Subject, and of the same *Jan. 22.*
Strain : ' We are now, says his Lordship, at the

' true Crisis of our Disease ; we die at once, or
' recover at once : Let *France* depart from that
' shameful Expedient by which they thought to
' bubble us out of the Advantages which they
' had solemnly yielded, and all is well ; other-
' wise, *by God*, both they and we are undone.

' Pray send *Barton* back as fast as possible. The
' Queen can neither delay the Meeting of the
' Parliament longer than the 3d, nor speak to the
' Houses, till we hear from you.

' My Compliments to Monsieur *de Torcy* : Let
' him know, that if they do not agree with the
' Queen, I may perhaps be a Refugee : If I am,
' I promise beforehand, to behave myself better
' in *France*, than the *French* Refugees do here.
' Make the *French* ashamed of their sneaking
' Chicane ; by Heaven, they treat like Pedlars,
' or, which is worse, like Attornies.'

Mr. PRIOR a little before had sent a Dispatch *
to the Secretary's Office, giving a full Account of
the present State of the Treaty, together with fe-
veral Papers, Memorials, and Propositions relat-
ing to the Points in Dispute, and concerning Com-
merce, and *North America*. The Day after he
writes to my Lord Treasurer, and tells him, ' I
' have wrote a Book instead of a Letter, to my
of *Orford*.

Mr. PRIOR
to the Earl

* Dated December 28, 1712.

‘ Lord *Bolingbroke*, which I desire your Lordship would be pleased to run over, that knowing what I have done here, you may honour me with your Commands as to what I am to do. I hope my Proposal about *Newfoundland*, which I send your Lordship enclosed, is such as may terminate that Affair to our Advantage. If your Lordship is of the same Opinion, I shall have entire Satisfaction.’

Jan. 8,
17¹²/₁₃.
N. S.

Mr. PRIOR having sent another full Account to the Secretary of State, writes the same Day to my Lord Treasurer, ‘ That he had been in Conference with the *French* Ministers to adjust the Points undecided between Her Majesty and the King of *France*; that he had sent Lord *Bolingbroke* the Result of those Conferences, as well what was agreed to by the *French* Ministers, as his own Remarks upon each particular Head; and says, I hope your Lordship will find the whole adjusted so far to your Satisfaction, as that our Plenipotentiaries may receive their final Orders. I will not doubt but the whole Affair of *Newfoundland* is adjusted to your Desire. There were some Points insisted upon by our Plenipotentiaries, which the Ministers here thought very unreasonable; and to say a Truth to my Lord Treasurer plainly, which I a little mitigate to my Lord *Bolingbroke*, I think not very reasonable.’ He then gives an Account ‘ that Monsieur *de Torcy* was surprized, that the *Dutch* had but in Part complied with what Lord *Strafford* declared to them to be Her Majesty’s Resolutions, to which he hopes the Queen will send such an Answer as may cut off all Delays:’ And upon this Occasion Mr. PRIOR says to my Lord Treasurer; ‘ This I only write to your Lordship, it being a Thing that should not be canvassed in Council; and I have promised that the King should have Her Majesty’s Answer upon it, as he desires.’

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Mr. PRIOR writes again to my Lord Treasurer, and acquaints him, ' That the Duke of *Shrewsbury* now sends to Lord *Bolingbroke* the Substance of their last Conferences with Monsieur *de Torcy*, upon the Subject of *Newfoundland*: To which I take Leave to add, That your Friend *Torcy* is in the last Concern to find the Duke's Instructions so strict, in a Point which cannot be given up by *France*, at a Time when we well hoped that Difference was adjusted. Pray, my Lord, let us have your distinct and positive Orders hereupon by the first. I send your Lordship enclosed a Copy of my Letter to my Lord *Bolingbroke*, and the Duke of *Shrewsbury* desires, that we may have your Orders to finish. I believe *Torcy* writes himself to you.' Jan. 19,
1713.

He writes once more to my Lord Treasurer on the same Head, and tells him, ' I have already wrote so amply to your Lordship, on the two great Points of *Newfoundland*, and the Tariff of 1664, and expect so daily your last Orders upon those two Points, that I will not trouble you at present further than to say, if these two are settled, the Peace may be determined here To morrow, and sent the next Day to *Utrecht* to be signed.' And ten Days after Mr. PRIOR says to my Lord Treasurer; ' If I desire you to write to me, it is because I really think it for the Queen's Service; that in this great Post where you have put me, I may be able to say, I have the immediate Commands of my Lord Treasurer; and in regard to that Friendship with which you have so publickly honoured me, and which, by the By, does all the Business here.' And again, ' I shall direct myself as you shall be pleased to instruct me privately.' Jan. 23,
1713.

In a Letter to Lord *Bolingbroke* some Time after the Conclusion of the Peace, Mr. PRIOR expresses himself merrily concerning the Difficulties that had arisen on the Articles of Commerce. ' We had like, says he, to have made an *Athanasian* Business' In May.
1713.

‘ Business of it at *Utrecht*, by that Explanation of
 ‘ our own Way of understanding our own Com-
 ‘ merce. Their Letters to you, full of Surmises
 ‘ and Doubts that all was unhinged; and their
 ‘ Letters to us again, that Explanations, however,
 ‘ made, were only to save Appearances, and fig-
 ‘ nified nothing; this *Mélange*, I say, and my en-
 ‘ deavouring to understand it, had like to make
 ‘ me run mad, if the Duke of *Shrewsbury*’s ex-
 ‘ treme good Sense, and Monsieur *de Torcy*’s not
 ‘ only honest, but right Understanding, had not
 ‘ redressed us.’

This is all that remains of Mr. PRIOR’s con-
 cerning the Business of *Newfoundland*. We have
 only a few Fragments more of his writing during
 the Negotiations in *France*, which relate chiefly to
 the Chevalier’s Departure, mentioned in Lord
Bolingbroke’s Letter of September 10, 1712.

Dec. 28th, 1712. It is on this Account that Mr. PRIOR writes
 thus to my Lord *Bolingbroke*. ‘ Another Point
 ‘ upon which this Court is very solicitous, is,
 ‘ That the Chevalier remaining in any Town of
 ‘ *France* obstructs the Signing the Peace; yet he
 ‘ cannot go to *Lorain* till the Emperor’s Passports
 ‘ will secure him there. Your Lordship, by the
 ‘ Perusal of the Papers, will see the State of that
 ‘ Case; and I have only to add upon this Subject,
 ‘ that the Court of *France* expresses an Impossibi-
 ‘ lity on their Sides, to do more than they have
 ‘ done, and hopes we should have Interest enough
 ‘ with the Emperor, to obtain such Passports from
 ‘ him, as may secure, as well as the Person who
 ‘ is to go into *Lorain*, as the Duke of *Lorain*,
 ‘ who is to receive him.

Dec. 29th. And to the same Effect he writes to my Lord
 Treasurer, and says, ‘ The Monarch is a good
 ‘ deal troubled upon this Head, lest the young
 ‘ Man should fall into the Hands of the *Hussars*
 ‘ or *Barbarians*. And Mons. *D’Aumont* has, I
 ‘ presume, Orders to speak to our Ministry upon
 ‘ it.

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‘ As to the Dowry, I shall not only be dunn’d
‘ to Death, but hang’d; for the * Dowager sends
‘ Messengers to me, which you in *England* do not
‘ think it extremely lawful to receive: But if it is
‘ to be paid, pray let it be done in an handsome
‘ Manner, that may shew the Charity of the
‘ Queen, and the Generosity of Her Lord Trea-
‘ surer.’

But though the Chevalier was removed into *Lo-* *Nov. 6th,*
rain, upon an Address of the *British* Parliament, *1713.* Lord
Lord *Bolingbroke* writes almost a Year after to Mr. *Bolingbroke*
PRIOR, upon the same Business, and says; ‘ Her *to Mr. PRI-*
‘ Majesty having repeated to the Duke of *Lorain,* *OR:*
‘ the Instances which you know have been so of-
‘ ten made to the most Christian King, for remov-
‘ ing of the Pretender to Her Crown out of his
‘ Dominions, I am directed to acquaint you there-
‘ with, that you may speak to the Minister of
‘ *Lorain*, and to any other Minister whom you
‘ shall think proper, and let them know it is ab-
‘ solutely inconsistent with the Amity and good
‘ Correspondence that is between the Queen and
‘ their Masters, to receive into their Domini-
‘ ons, or to protect a Person, who disputes Her
‘ Majesty’s most undoubted Title, and thereby en-
‘ deavours to disturb the Peace and Quiet of Her
‘ Kingdoms. That you may be able to shew
‘ them that this is the collective Sense of the whole
‘ Nation, as well as the Queen’s Command to
‘ you, I herewith send you the Addresses of both
‘ Houses of Parliament.’

Mr. PRIOR being left sole Minister, upon the
Duke of *Shrewsbury*’s return to *England*, he re-
ceived soon after a Letter from Lord *Bolingbroke*,
in which was the following passage:

‘ There is a Person here, of whom we have ne-
‘ ver taken the least Notice as a public Man, but *Sep: 25,*
‘ who, however, is an Agent from the *Catalans.* *1713:*

* The Queen of the late King JAMES:

‘ By

‘ By what we observe in him it is pretty plain,
 ‘ that a reasonable Accommodation might be made
 ‘ with that turbulent People. What is the Sense
 ‘ of the *French* Court on this matter? How far
 ‘ will they concur with the Queen in advising
 ‘ *Philip* to make an end of that War?

In pursuance of this Instruction, we find that
 Mr. PRIOR addressed Monsieur *de Torcy* in Favour
 of the *Catalans*, who after speaking of it to the
 King, returned the following Answer.

M. *de Torcy*
 to Mr.
 PRIOR,
Nov. 13th.

‘ YOU received, Sir, some time since, Or-
 ‘ ders from the Queen of *Great Britain* to
 ‘ Use Her good Offices with the King in favour
 ‘ of the *Catalans*, who have rebelled against the
 ‘ King of *Spain*, and of the Inhabitants of *Barce-*
 ‘ *lona*. You acquainted me, that Her *Britannick*
 ‘ Majesty was sure they would submit to the King
 ‘ their Master, if that Prince would grant them a
 ‘ generally Amnesty, the Restitution and Enjoy-
 ‘ ment of all their Estates, and in short the same
 ‘ Conditions which he had caused to be offered
 ‘ them, and which they did not accept, without
 ‘ mentioning their antient Privileges any more.

‘ The Answer which the King just now receives
 ‘ from the Catholick King upon this Article, is,
 ‘ That he is still willing to grant the same Condi-
 ‘ tions to the rebellious *Catalans*, notwithstanding
 ‘ they rendered themselves unworthy of his Fa-
 ‘ vours, by slighting them, and altho’ he is now
 ‘ in a condition to reduce them by Force: He de-
 ‘ fires the King to impart his Answer to the Queen
 ‘ of *Great Britain*, my Lord *Lexington* having
 ‘ had no Orders to speak about this Affair.’

I now proceed to Mr. PRIOR’s Journal, from
 the Duke of *Shrewsbury*’s departure out of *France*,
 till his own return into *England* after the Accession
 of King *George*, as it was found among his Papers
 in the Hand-writing of *Adrian Drift*, Esq; his
 Excellency’s Secretary.

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Mr. *PRIOR*'s JOURNAL

A T T H E

COURT of *FRANCE*.

HIS Grace the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, and my Lady Dutchess, set out from *Paris* in a Berlin on *Wednesday* the 31st of *August*, 1713, N. S. between one and two in the Morning, and arrived at *Calais* on *Sunday* Evening the 3^d of *September*; were entertained at Supper by Monsieur *de Mole* the Governor there, and about eleven at Night embarked on board the *Peregrine* Galley, Captain *Saunderson* Commander; at seven the next Morning landed safe at *Dover*, where his Grace rested but two Hours, and then proceeded onwards to *London* with my Lady Dutchess; whence his Grace went to *Windſor*, and had Audience of Her Majesty; gave Her an Account of his Embassy, with which Her Majesty was well pleased.

At seven in the Morning Mr. *PRIOR*, in his own Coach and six Horses, set out from *Paris* for *Fontainebleau*, where he arrived about the same Hour in the Evening; and between nine and ten paid a Visit to Monsieur *de Torcy*. Sept. 13th

Mr. *PRIOR* presented to Monsieur *de Torcy* a Memorial on the following Heads. Sept. 15th

“ That the fifty Sols per Ton laid in *France* on all *Engliſh* Shipping, and five Shillings per Ton imposed in *Great Britain* on those of *France*, should be taken off on both Sides.

N

That

That several *English* Merchants, who were come to load Salt in the Ports of *France*, might be permitted to sail with their said Loading.

That an Answer might be returned to Mr. *Pownol's* Memorial, concerning his Estate at *Dunkirk*, given by the King to the Marquis de *Livry*.

That Monsieur *Pontchartrain* return an Answer to the Memorial relating to the Ship the *Three Brothers* of *New York*.

That Answer be made concerning the Affair of Mr. *Welden*.

To the Affair of Mrs. *Lynche's* Marriage.

That the * *Galeriens* be set at Liberty, according to the Specification given to Mr. *Pecquet*."

At the same Time Mr. PRIOR presented a Memorial from Captain *Peter Peterson*, concerning the Ship *John Baptist*, seized at *Marseilles*.

Monsieur de *Torcy* promised to procure Answers as desired, and gave to Mr. PRIOR in Writing that about Mr. *Welden's* Affair; with several Papers annexed.

Sept. 17.

Mr. PRIOR received from Monsieur de *Torcy* the Answer of the Marquis de *Livry* to the Papers of Mr. *Pownol*, &c.

Sept. 18.

A Memorial was presented to Monsieur *Desmarteis*, signed by Mr. PRIOR, desiring an Order to the Custom-House Officers at *Paris*, that they may deliver sixteen Cases come from *Rouen*; addressed to Mr. PRIOR, and one Hoghead of Wine, to the Person appointed by him to receive the same, without being opened.

The same Day the Papers above-mentioned, concerning Mr. *Pownol*, were delivered to him, with which he did not seem satisfied, and said he would petition the King, and deliver it himself. Mr. PRIOR promised to do him all the good Offices in his Power.

* Galley Slaves,

A Passport was given to Lieutenant Colonel *Sept. 20.*
James Urquhart, and Major *Duncan Campbell*, in
the Regiment of the Lord *Mark Kerr*, at *Port*
Mahone, to go to *London*.

Another Passport to Captain *James Davidson*,
in the Regiment of Colonel *Molesworth*, also at
Port Mahone, to go to *London*.

Mr. PRIOR presented to Monsieur *de Torcy* 2
Memorial, with one annexed from Monsieur *de*
Douglas, concerning his claim to the Village of
Dankelsheim and *Kittesheim*, in *Alsace*, &c.

Another Memorial relating to the Ship *Nep-*
tune.

A third relating to the fifty Sols *pour Tonneau*,
and the five Shillings ditto—to the *English* Vessels
that come to load Salt,—to the ninth Article of
Commerce, &c.—to Commissioners for opening
of Commerce,—to the Ship the *Three Brothers*
of *New-York*,—to Dame *Lynche*,—to the Release of
the Prisoners in the Gallies.

I carried by Mr. PRIOR's Order to Mr. *Pecquet*, *Sept. 23.*
Dispatches to Lord *Bolingbroke*, of the 22d, O. S.
upon several Heads, being an Answer to his Lord-
ship's Letters of the 9th, the 12th, and the 15th
of *September*, N. S. At the same Time I deli-
vered to Mr. *Pecquet* a Packet addressed to Mr.
Tilson, containing Letters from Lord *Lexington*;
all which were given to a Courier of Mr. *Tor-*
cy's, sent by him the same Day to the Duke
D'Aumont.

N. B. Mr. *Welden's* Papers, a Letter from the
Dutchess of *Berry* to the Queen, Renuncia-
tions of the Chamber of *Nantz*, and a Let-
ter from *Jenkinson*, were inclosed in the above
Letters.

Received from Mr. *Burch* at *Madrid*, a Letter *Sept. 25.*
of the 11th Instant, inclosing Letters for Eng-
land.

Sept. 26.

Received Letters from the Lord *Bolingbroke*, dated at *Windsor-Castle* the 8th Instant, by the way of *Dunkirk*.

This Afternoon Mr. PRIOR waited on the Elector of *Bavaria*, who went soon after from hence to *Compeigne*.

In the Evening Mr. PRIOR waited on Monsieur *de Torcy*, and presented to him a Memorial relating to the delivering up to her Majesty's Troops, upon their Arrival at *Newfoundland*, the Town and Fort of *Placentia*.

Mr. PRIOR received from Mr. *Pecquet* an Order from Monsieur *Desmartes* to the *Fermiers* of the Custom-House at *Paris*, to deliver to whom Mr. PRIOR should appoint, sixteen Cases, and a Hog-head of Wine, without paying any Custom, or searching of the said Cases.

Sept. 29.

Mr. PRIOR having received from Monsieur *de Torcy* a Letter from Mr. *de Pontchartrain*, under a flying Seal to Mr. *de Costebelle*, Governor for the King at *Placentia*, inclosing an Order from his Majesty to the said Governor, dated the 29th Instant, (with the Copy of the 13th Article of the Treaty of Peace) directing him to deliver up to her Majesty's Troops, *Placentia*, &c.

Mr. PRIOR writ to my Lord *Bolingbroke* thereupon, inclosing the said Letter, and a Copy of his own Memorial of the 26th, to Monsieur *de Torcy* on that Subject.

A Letter to the Lord Treasurer, and another to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, were sent at the same Time; as also one to *l'Abbe Gaultier*.

Two Packets from Monsieur *de Torcy*; one to the Duke *D'Aumont*, and another to Monsieur *l'Abbe Gaultier*.

Letters from Lord *Lexington*.

Sept. 30.

About Four in the Afternoon Mr. *Barton*, one of her Majesty's Messengers, was dispatched from hence with the Letter and Packets above-mentioned.

Mr.

Mr. Bill, one of her Majesty's Messengers, arrived at *Fontainebleau* this Day about eleven o'Clock, with Letters from my Lord *Bolingbroke* to Mr. PRIOR, dated at *Windsor* the 15th of September 1713, O. S.

Mr. PRIOR gave in Treplicates of Memorials to Monsieur de *Torcy*, one concerning Mr. *Smith*, the other Mr. *Peterfon*.

Mr. PRIOR understanding by a Servant that he had sent to Monsieur de *Torcy*, about One o'Clock, to know when he might discourse with him, that Monsieur de *Torcy* was going to *Villeroy*, and would not return till the next Evening to *Fontainebleau*, immediately went to Monsieur de *Torcy*, &c.

Letters by the way of *Dunkirk* came in from England, dated 18th of September, O. S, inclosing one to Lord *Lexington*, and another to Admiral *Jennings* at *Toulon*.

Mr. Bill was dispatched about Three o'Clock in the Afternoon from *Fontainebleau*, with Letters to Lord *Bolingbroke*, Duke of *Shrewsbury*, Lord Treasurer, Mr. *Gaultier*, Mr. *Shelton*, Mr. *Tilson*, and Mr. *Hare*.

About Six in the Morning Mr. PRIOR, in his own Coach and Six Horses, set out from *Fontainebleau* for *Paris*, arrived at *Erten* about Eleven, stayed there till Four, then proceeded on his Journey, and came to *Paris* about Six in the Evening to his own Hotel.

Mr. *Barton* arrived here about Eight on Friday Night, with Dispatches from England, dated September 29, O. S. and a Plenipotentiary Power to Mr. PRIOR, to decide the Affair of *Menton* and *Roccabrun*, between the Duke of *Savoy* and the Prince of *Monaco*. At the same Time Mr. PRIOR was informed by my Lord *Bolingbroke*, that the Queen did not intend that he should stay longer in France, and that my Lord Treasurer would take better Care of him, and that General *Ross* was accordingly named Envoy Extraordinary.

Mr. PRIOR went to *Croissy* about six Leagues from *Paris*, where he continued till *Saturday*, and arrived at *Paris* about Four in the Afternoon.

Gave a Pass to *Le Sieur Pierre la Roache* * *et a la Femme, avec un Domestique*, to return to *London*.

Sunday the
16th.

Count *Nieuville*, Ambassador from the Grand Master and Order of *Malta*, sent a Compliment to Mr. PRIOR, that though he was so ill that he could not pay his Duty to the King at *Fontainbleau*, he would pay a Visit to the Queen of *Great Britain* whenever Mr. PRIOR should appoint, which he prevented by going the next Day, the 17th, to visit the Ambassador. His Excellency's Gentlemen were ready to receive Mr. PRIOR at the Coach; and immediately, as he alighted, his Excellency met him, gave him the Hand and Honour of his House, and re-conducted him to his Coach.

Oct. 17.

Sent Letters to Lord *Bolingbroke* of the same Date, to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, &c. by the way of *Dunkirk*.

Mr. PRIOR discoursed with Mr. *Pajot* and Mr. *Frowde*, in relation to the Treaty about settling a Correspondence of Letters, &c.

Mr. PRIOR went to *Versailles* in the Afternoon, presented a Memorial about *Jenkinson*. Gave to *Thomas Thompson* and *Ralph Bailey*, † *Suets de S. M la R, de la G. Bretagne*, a Pass to go to *London*. They had one from Mr. *Stanyan*, dated at *Bern* the 18th of *September*, 1713.

Oct. 19.

Mr. PRIOR returned from *Versailles* in the Evening.

Oct. 20.

Dispatched Mr. *Barton* to *England*, with Letters to Lord *Bolingbroke* and Lord *Treasurer*.

Oct. 27.

Gave a Passport to *Richard Stow* and *John Green*, *Sujets de sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne*, who brought Mr. *Stanyan*'s Passport, dated at *Bern*

* And his Wife with a Domestic.

† Subjects of Her Majesty the Queen of *Great Britain*.

the 9th of Oct. 1713: They said they had served the Duke of Savoy. Gave them ten Livres.

Mr. Elcock the Messenger arrived here about Nine at Night, with Letters from the Lord Bolingbroke,——He said, he had Letters for Lady Jersey, from Lord Bolingbroke, and Lord Lansdown.

Gave a Passport to Terence Brady and his Wife Oct. 28. to go to London. He was taken Prisoner with Hamilton's Regiment at Marchiennes. Colonel Douglas, by Letter, desires Mr. PRIOR's Passport for him.

Gave a Passport to Ephraim Vickas, Barber to Oct. 29. a Vessel taken by the French: He was carried to Smyrna, and on the Publication of the Cessation of Arms, was permitted to go to Leghorn, from thence to Toulon; from whence he came to Paris, had a Passport from the Count de ——, dated the 5th Instant. He had also a printed Passport on Paper, on which was written, Attestations of the Places he had come through to Paris.

Dispatched Mr. Elcock to England with Letters Nov. 1. to Lord Bolingbroke and Lord Treasurer, of the same Date.

Gave a Passport to Thomas Baldwin, who had formerly served Mr. PRIOR as a Footman.

Mr. PRIOR and Mr. Pajot examined the Treaty Nov. 2. for establishing the Postage of Letters between England and France; and signed the same, Mr. Frovde being present: There were two Treaties in French and two in English: Mr. Frovde had the two English to get ratified in England by the Post-masters there, which is to be done in eight Days, and one of them so ratified to be sent to Mr. Pajot: in Lieu of which Mr. Pajot returns one of the Treaties in French, to be kept in the Post-Office at London, as that in English is to be kept in the Post-Office at Paris; so that the Post-masters in London have one in French and one in English; and the Post-master at Paris has one in English and one in French.

Mr. PRIOR's Journal.

- Nov. 9. Gave a Passport to *Robert Smith, Esq;* and *Ralph Currice*, his Valet, to go to *London*.
- Nov. 12. *Edward Housan* brought a Certificate from the *Marshal Duke of Tallard*, that he had served him faithfully two Years as Under-Huntsman, dated *November 8, 1713*, signed *Tallard*, and witnessed *Harding*. He said he came over with *Tallard*; upon which Mr. PRIOR gave him a Passport.
- Nov. 16. Mr. PRIOR went to *Monfieur de Torcy's* with the Duke of *Richmond*, to present his Affair; and at the same Time presented to *Monfieur de Torcy*, a Memorial relating to *Captain Buttler*, recommended to him by the Duke of *Ormond*.
- Nov. 16. *Mr. George Arbuthnot* having served as Captain in *Her Majesty's Regiment of Foot*, commanded by *Colonel Kane*, came to me this 16th Day of *November, 1713*, N. S. and acquainted me that the said Regiment having been broke at *Calais* in *June last*, by the said *George Arbuthnot* is no otherwise provided for by the Government, than by the Half-Pay which *Her Majesty* has been graciously pleased to allow to the Officers of the said Regiment. At Paris the Day and Year above written,
- M. P.
- Nov. 17. Gave a Pass to *Mr. Philemon Peronol* to go to *London*.
- Nov. 17. Gave a Pass to *William Smith*, a *Hampshire* Man, who came from *Geneva*, being set ashore there in his Passage to *Smyrna* on Board a Merchantman, the Sea not agreeing with him—the Ship named the *London Merchant*. He continued there five Months. Gave him five Livres.
- Nov. 18. Gave a Pass to *John Smith* of *New-York*, concerned in the Ship the *Three Brothers* of that Country, to go to *London*.
- Nov. 19. Gave a Pass to *William Everet*, who came from *Dunkirk*: being discharged from the Regiment of Colonel

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Colonel *Diney*, at his said *Everet's* Request, the 29th of *July* 1713. He came to *Paris* with one *William Defrom*, a Dancing-master, who had a Passport for himself and six others, from the Earl of *Athlone*, dated at *Mons* the 1st of *October* 1713.

The Secretary of the Envoy of the King of *Sicily*, came with *le Sieur St. Ispolise* to present him to Mr. PRIOR, and to desire for the said * Mr. *Is- polise* a Passport to go to *London*. He produced a Passport signed by Mr. *Chetwynd*, the 5th of *September* 1713, for his passing from *Turin* to *France*, and from thence to *England*. The said Passport was signed this Day by Mr. PRIOR, for his going to *England* accordingly.

Duke *D'Aumont* arrived here on *Saturday* the 25th Instant, and went to *Versailles* the next Day the 26th.

The Earl of *Peterborough* arrived here on *Sunday* Nov. 26. Evening the 26th Instant. As did Admiral *Jennings*, who took up his Lodgings in the same Hôtel as Mr. PRIOR.

Monday Morning about Nine Mr. PRIOR went in his own Coach and Six with Admiral *Jennings* to the Earl of *Peterborough's*, to the Hôtel *Modene*, where about Ten the Duke *D'Aumont* arrived as he had promised my Lord *Peterborough*. Mr. PRIOR and Admiral *Jennings*, upon his Arrival, went down Stairs, received him at the Gate, and went in his Coach to *Versailles*, where they arrived about Eleven, and descended at his Hôtel there; and soon after, the Duke *D'Aumont* went to Monsieur *de Torcy's*, and the Lord *Peterborough* to the Duke's Lodgings in the Chateau. Mr. PRIOR, at the same Time, went also to Monsieur *de Torcy's*. The Admiral followed my Lord *Peterborough* about an Hour after his Lordship came to Monsieur *de Torcy's*. His Lordship, Mr. PRIOR, and Admiral *Jennings*, dined with Monsieur *de Torcy*; as did

* Colonel in Her Majesty's Service, and Adjutant General to his Royal Highness the Duke of *Savoy*.

also the Duke *D' Aumont*, Marechal *Theſſe*, Marechal *Tallard*, the Cardinal *de Polignac*, and ſeveral others, Perſons of Diſtinction. About Five in the ſame Afternoon, his Lordſhip had an Audience of the King in his Cloſet, introduced thereto by the Marquis *de Torcy*, Mr. PRIOR being preſent. After which the Duke *D' Aumont* preſented Admiral *Jennings* to his Maſteſty, who received him very graciously; told him he was glad to ſee a Man who had gained ſo great a Reputation in maritime Affairs; that as Her Maſteſty had deſervedly promoted him for theſe Services, he doubted not but he would dedicate the reſt of his Life to the Service of ſo good a Miſtreſs. Admiral *Jennings* not ſpeaking *French*, the King deſired Mr. PRIOR to tell him in *Engliſh* what he ſaid; which Mr. PRIOR did accordingly: About Seven the ſame Evening the Earl of *Peterborough* returned to *Paris*, as did Mr. PRIOR the next Day in the Evening: The Admiral ſtaying at *Versailles*, being invited by the Count *Tolouſe* to Supper with him.

Dec. 6. My Lord *Peterborough* went to *Versailles* about Noon, and Mr. PRIOR dined at *Paris* with Mr. *Anniſon* and Monſieur * *d' Iberville*.

Dec. 6. Mr. *Elcock*, one of Her Maſteſty's Meſſengers, arrived here on *Wednesday* Afternoon about Five o'Clock, with Letters from *England*, dated the 19th of *November* 1713. He left *England* on *Friday* laſt. Answered the ſaid Letters, and ſent them by Admiral *Jennings* the 7th.

Dec. 9. Mr. PRIOR went with Lord *Peterborough* to *Versailles*.

Dec. 10. I ſent Captain *Padden*'s Letter to Mr. *Burch*, mentioned in Mr. *Tilray*'s of the 20th of *November*.

Dec. 14. My Lord *Peterborough* about Noon went from *Paris* in his Way to † *Sicily*.

* Appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Great Britain.

† His Lordſhip was going Ambaſſador thither.

Mr. Elcock was dispatched about Seven in the *Dec. 15.* Morning with Letters to Lord *Bolingbroke* and Lord Treasurer, &c.

By a Letter from Mr. *Burch* without Date, he *Dec. 17.* advises that my Lord *Lexington* left *Madrid* the 28th of *November 1713*, to return by the Way of *Lisbon* to *England*,

Mr. *Barton* arrived about Ten this Morning with *Dec. 19.* Letters from Lord *Bolingbroke*, dated at *Windfor* the 2d of *December 1713*, N. S. And about Twelve Mr. PRIOR went to *Versailles*, gave in a Copy of a Memorial relating to the *Galeriens*, presented by the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, and another from himself for others; and before his Departure went to Monsieur *Pontchartrain*, gave in two Memorials, that of Captain *Barnaby's*, and of the Ship *Plymouth*.

Barton brought with him from the Post-master-general, *The Treaty for the Correspondence of Letters between France and Great Britain*: Signed by Mr. *Pajot* and Mr. PRIOR the 2d Day of *December*, N. S. at *Paris*, 1713. Ratified by the Post-master in the Words following, viz.

' We, Sir *Thomas Frankland*, Baronet, and Sir
' *John Evelyn*, Baronet, Post-masters-general of
' *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and of all other the
' Dominions of her Majesty of *Great Britain*,
' and General of all the Couriers and Posts, hav-
' ing read and considered the Articles of Agree-
' ment in a Treaty made and concluded on the
' Second Day of *November*, N. S. in the Year of
' our Lord 1713, between the Honourable MAT-
' THEW PRIOR, Esq; Minister and Plenipotenti-
' ary of the Queen of *Great Britain* to his most
' Christian Majesty, as having Power and Procura-
' tion from us on the one Part, and *Lewis Pajot*,
' Count of *Onsenbray*, Lord of *Villers*, St. *Aubus*,
' du *Vanroux*, and other Places, Comptroller-
' general of the Posts of *France*, as having Com-
' mission and Power from M. *John Baptist Colbert*,
' Che-

' Chevalier, Marquis of Torcy, Croissy, Sable, Bris,
 ' Dauphiné, and other Places, Minister and Se-
 ' cretary of State, and of the Commands of his
 ' most Christian Majesty, Commander and Su-
 ' perintendent-general of the Posts and Couriers
 ' of France, on the other Part, for establishing
 ' the good Correspondency and Intelligence be-
 ' tween the Kingdoms of Great Britain and
 ' France, as to the Intercourse of the Posts; do
 ' upon full Satisfaction of the Contents of the said
 ' Treaty, contained in one and twenty Articles in
 ' English afore-written, ratify and confirm all and
 ' every the Articles and Clauses therein contained,
 ' General Post-office, London, November 17th,
 ' 1713.

THO. FRANKLAND,
 JOHN EVELYN.

Dec. 22.

Mr. PRIOR went to Mr. Pajot this Morning,
 and exchanged with him the Treaty abovemention-
 ed, for that in French, intituled, *Traité pour la*
Correspondence des Lettres entre la Grande Bretagne
et la France. The Ratification of the said Treaty
 was signed at Paris by Monsieur de Torcy, the 9th
 of November, 1713.

COLBERT DE TORCY.

The Post masters transmitted Bills to Mr. Pajot
 for 19473 Livres 14 Sols, towards the Discharge of
 the Debt due to him from the Post-Office, London.

N. B. Mr. Barton was dispatched to England the
 25th Day, in the Evening, with Letters to Lord
 Bolingbroke, Lord Treasurer, and Lady Masham,
 ——— and carried with him the aforesaid Trea-
 ty in French, for the Post-masters at London,
 and a Letter from Mr. Pajot to the said Post-
 masters.

This

THIS Day Mr. PRIOR had a private Audience *Dec. 23.* of his Majesty in his Closet, introduced by the Marquis de *Torcy*, upon the Subject of the Letters brought by Mr. *Barton*; the Substance of which will be found in Mr. PRIOR's * Letter to Lord *Bolingbroke* of the 25th Instant.

About six in the Evening *Jonathan* was dispatch- *Jan. 5.* ed to *England*, with Letters to Lord Treasurer, ^{1714.} Lord *Bolingbroke*, Mr. d' *Iberville*, Monsieur *Gaultier*, and other private Letters and Truffles for the Queen.

THIS Day Mr. PRIOR gave a Bill of 4000 Livres upon *Tourton*, for the present, to M. *Breteuil* and Mr. *Saintot*.—— Remember to ask Mr. *Ganré* for the Receipts Mr. PRIOR gave him for the said Money, as also for what was given to Mr. *Merlin*, Secretary to the Introdutors, &c.

Received a Letter from the Post-master-general *Jan. 9.* of *London*, dated the 24th of *December*, O. S. ac- ^{1714.} knowledging the Receipt of the Counterpart of the Ratification aforementioned, signed by Monsieur *Torcy*, for the Establishment of the Correspondence of Letters, signifying that the Pacquet-boat settled is to go every *Monday* and *Thursday* to *Calais*, to bring the Mail sent from *Paris*.

N. B. The Letters go from *Paris* to *Calais* *Wednesday* Morning Eight of the Clock, and *Saturday* Morning, ditto.

Mr. *Barton* arrived here with Letters from my Lord *Bolingbroke* this Evening, dated at *Windfor* the 29th of *December*.

The next Day Letters from *England* came in by the Post, and brought one (amongst others) from Mr. *Wace*, of Mr. Secretary *Bromley's* Office, inclosing one by Mr. *Lewis's* Order, to the great Master of *Malta*, from the Queen.

* This Letter is not among the Papers,

- Jan. 20.* Mr. PRIOR was pleased to go to the Minister here from *Malta*, to deliver the said Letter himself; but the Ambassador not being at home, he was pleased to send *Drift* on *Monday* the 22d, in his Coach, with four Servants, who presented the said Letter with his Compliments to the Ambassador.
- Feb. 4.* Mr. *Barton* was dispatched to *London*, with Letters for Lord *Bolingbroke*, and Lord Treasurer; and he departed from hence about 5 in the Morning.
- Feb. 5.* Gave a Pass to *Peter Sampson*, of the Isle of *Jersey*, to go to *London*. — He was here about a Ship loaden with Coals from that Island, which was condemned for having one Pound fourteen Ounces of Tobacco on board. — Mr. PRIOR was pleased to give in several *Mémorials* for the Relief of the said *Sampson*, and to have the Ship set at Liberty. *Monsieur Desmarets* wou'd do little in it.
- Feb. 11.* Gave a Pass to *John Saunders*, who produced a Passport, signed by Mr. *Stanyan* at *Bern* the 15th Day of *January*, 1714, and counter-signed by *L. Schaub*.
- Feb. 13.* Mr. *Barton* arrived at *Versailles* this Day, about two in the Afternoon, with Letters from Lord *Bolingbroke* and Lord Treasurer.
- Feb. 15.* Mr. *Frédéric Sadier*, Engraver, who came from *England* in King *Charles II*'s Time; and has been many Years in *Paris*, desiring to return to *England* with one of his Sons, Mr. PRIOR spoke to *Monsieur de Torcy* about it the 13th; and the 15th Mr. PRIOR was pleased to give him his Passport, bearing date the same Day, for him and his Son *Henry*. He has a Wife here of the North of *Ireland*; her Name is *Margaret Sadier*; and a Son, *Frédéric*.
- Feb. 27.* Gave a Passport to Mr. *John Burnaby*, to go to *London*.
- Mar. 3.* Gave a Passport to Colonel *John Leckner*, to go to *Port Mahone*, to his Regiment there —

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Passer a Port Mahon, — dans l'Isle de Minorque, le Sieur Jean Leckner Anglois, Col. d'un Regiment de la Reine a present sur cette Isle.

Gave a Certificate to Mr. George Arbuthnot, March 5. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same as that of the 16th of November, 1712, the Date only changed to this Day.

On Mr. PRIOR's writing a Letter to the Baron de Breteuil, to have Meat during Lent, at the *Hôtel de Dieu*, the Introduc'tor sent him the Order in the Words following, *viz.*

* *Nous Baron de Breteuil et de Preuilly, premier Baron de Touraine, Conseiller du Roy en ses Con- seilles, Introduc'teur des Ambassadeurs et Princes Etrangers aupres de sa Majesté, enjoignons au Boucher de l'Hôtel Dieu de fournir pendant le Carefme au Prix Ordinaire, suivant l'Ordre du Roy, toute la Viande de Boucherie et Rotisserie qui sera necessaire pour la Subsistance de la Maison de Monsieur PRIOR, Plenipotentiaire de la Reine de la Grand Bretagne, Fait a Paris le fixieme Jour de Mars, 1714.*

LE BARON DE BRETEUIL.

Par Man. de Seigneur.

DE CERNY.

Gave a Passport to Thomas Hulse of Nant-^{March 11,} wick, in the County of Chester, to return to Eng- land.

* *In English: " We the Baron of Breteuil and Preuilly, " first Baron of Tourain, Counsellor to the King in his " Councils, Introduc'tor of Ambassadors and Foreign Prin- " ces to his Majesty, enjoin the Butcher of the Hôtel Dieu " to furnish during Lent, at the Market Price established " by the King's Order, all Sorts of Butcher's Meat that " shall be necessary for the Subsistence of the Family of " Mr. PRIOR, Plenipotentiary from the Queen of Great " Britain. Given at Paris the 6th Day of March, " 1714."*

Mr.

- March 13.* Mr. Barton was dispatched to London, with an Account of the Peace being signed between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty.
- March 16.* Mr. PRIOR went this Afternoon to *St. Claude*, to the Elector of *Bavaria*, who has a House there, to congratulate him upon the Peace; as all the Ministers of *France*, and the Ambassadors and Envoys of Foreign Ministers have done.
- March 20.* Gave a Passport to *Joseph Harrison*, a *Staffordshire* Man, and Buckle-Maker, to go to *London* about his Trade. He came into *France* during the last Peace.
- March 24.* Mr. *Henry Villiers* went from hence this Morning with Mr. *Rowland Bright*, who came from the Lord *Bolingbroke* hither for him. They both had Mr. PRIOR's Passport; Mr. *Hayward* the Messenger, and *Jonathan* Mr. PRIOR's Servant, accompanying them.
- March 23.* Gave a Passport to *Mary Robinson*, *Mary Shinn*, *Francis Willington*, *Mark Meld*, and *Robert Reborn*, a Child, (of the Company of Rope Dancers) to go to *England*.
- March 27.* Gave two Passports, dated this Day, to *Thomas Loving*, *John Rinct*, *Charles Freemin*, *Gilles Pilton*, *Anthony Fouché*, *Gilles Blanchat*, *Dennis Raullet*, *Jacques Mason*, *Charles Gallet*, and *Thomas Lucas* of the Isle of *Jersey*, who sailed from thence in the Ship *Pierre*, bound to *Leghorn*: They were cast away on the Coast of *Provence*. They brought a Passport from the Governor there, Mr. *Jorville*, dated the 3d Instant, signifying their having been cast away on the same Coast——Gave them thirty Livres.
- March 31.* Gave a Passport to *William Wagstaff*, a Servant to Mr. *Banis*, and brought over with him from *England*. Dr. *Lidderal* spoke in his Favour; and a Servant of the Duke of *Richmond* came to desire that he might have the Passport, the said *William* being to go away the next Day, the 2d of *April*, 1714.

Gave a Passport to *Richard Hunter* and *Mary March* 31.
Burgefs, Servants to the Right Honourable the
Countess of *Jersey*, to return to *London*, dated this
Day.

Gave a Passport, dated this Day, to *Jean Ca-* April 2.
bot, *Thomas Lauine*, *Martin Cousin*, *Jean le Ber*,
Jacques Jardin, and *George Garnier*, six Matelots
of the same Crew abovementioned, cast away in
the Ship *Peter*, as abovementioned.

Gave a Passport to *Frederick Sadier*, and Mar. April 6.
garet his Wife, and to *Frederick* and *Henry* and
their Servant Maid, to go to *England*. Vide the
15th of *February* foregoing.

Mr. Bill the Messenger arrived here in the May 5.
Evening, with Letters from Lord *Bolingbroke*, dated
the 21st of *April*, O. S.

Gave a Passport to *Gervais Road*, born at Step- May 11.
ney, who was cast away the 18th of *February*,
1714, on board the Ship *Victory*, Captain *Miller*
Commander, at *Rosar*, within ten Leagues of
Naples, coming from *Smyrna* to *Leghorn* with Silks.

Gave a Passport to *Mr. Christopher Kane* and
his Wife, two Footmen and a Maid Servant.

Mr. Barton was dispatched from hence about May 12.
Five of the Clock this Afternoon.

Mr. Smith arrived the same Evening. *Barton*
returned with him from *St. Dennis*, and set out
the next Morning early, the 13th, for *England*.

Mr. Bill was dispatched to *England*. May 15.

Mr. PRIOR went to *Monfieur Amelot*. *Monfieur* May 22.
Lecheraine, and *Monfieur Bernardin* were there;
and had a Conference concerning *Menton* and *Ro-*
cabrun.

Gave a Passport to *Charles Gofet*, *Jean Gallet*, May 24.
Nicholas Fillet, *Pierre Chatelair*, *Jacques Jour-*
dain, *Richard l Anglois*, et *Jean la Fosse*, Matelots of
the Isle of *Jersey*. They were cast away in the Ship
Pelegrin, commanded by *James du Doit*, on the
Coast of *Provence*, the 25th of *April*.

On Sunday I went in *Mr. PRIOR's* Coach and May 27.
six Horses, with all his Equipage, to the *Maison*
de

Mr. PRIOR's Journal.

de Rambouillet, to pay his Compliment to Mr. *Goslinge* and *de Buis*, Ambassadors from the States, it being the Day of their Entry.

Mr. *Barton* was dispatched at Nine at Night to *England*.

June 5. Gave a Passport to ——— *Constantin, Jacques Gardin, Jacques Rabaste, Jean Pontois, Pierre Cordy, Antoine Rabaste, Jacques Nicou, Pierre Queripet, tous de l'Isle de Jersey, et Sujets de sa Majesté, &c.* They were cast away *au travers du Cape de Gate*, going to *Alicant* about *a la Côte d'Espagne, &c.*

June 6. Gave a Passport to *John Laas* born in *Petty-France, Westminster*, Mariner, who was cast away in the Ship *May-Flower*, Captain *Norton* Commander, in the Island of *Sicily*. He produced a Passport from *Tho. Chamberlaine*, Consul at *Messina*, dated the 14th of *January, 1714*.

June 13. Mr. *Dagley* the Messenger was dispatched this Day about Five in the Afternoon.

June 15. Gave a Passport to Captain *James Smith* and his Servant, a Negroe, to go to *London*. He was naturalized at *Antigua*, in 1699. The Enrolment was made the 30th of *August* the same Year. Signed *Thomas Nichols* Secretary.

July 25. *Reijnier Beukers*, of the Town of *Utrecht*, desiring Mr. PRIOR's Passport to go to *London*, and producing one from M. *de Buys*, the Dutch Ambassador, signed and dated at *Paris* the 8th of *June, 1714*. Mr. PRIOR was thereupon pleased to give him his Passport accordingly.

Aug. 11. Gave a Passport to *Daniel Dounel*, aged thirty Years, who came from *Ireland* in *January* last, to go to *Montpelier* to study *Physic*; but falling ill whilst he was in *France*, he was obliged to return to his own Country for the Recovery of his Health.

——— *Passer a Havre, et de la en Irland.*

This Passport was given upon *Sir Richard's* Certificate, inclosed in a Letter to me of the 11th Instant.

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The Lord Peterborough went this Morning to *August 14.*
England.

Mr. PRIOR had an Audience of the King, *August 20.*
wherein, among other Things, he announced the
Death of her Majesty.

The Queen died on *Sunday* Morning at *Kensington*,
a little after Seven of the Clock, in the fiftieth
Year of her Age, and the 13th of her Reign,
1714.

Barton was dispatched to the King at *Hanover*, *August 20.*
with a Letter from Mr. PRIOR.

Beekles the Messenger arrived with Letters from *August 21.*
Lord *Bolingbroke*.

Gave a Passport to *Walter Hayley*, who came *August 24.*
from *England* by Order of the Lord *Burlington*,
with two *Irish* Wolf-Dogs and a Bitch, for M. de
la Fayl, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the
King of *France*.

Dispatched Mr. *Dagley* to *England*, with Let- *August 23.*
ters for Lord *Bolingbroke*, about Two in the Af-
ternoon.

Gave a Passport to *Thomas Pordrie*, *Jean La- August 29.*
teur, *Charles Vivien*, *Gilles Cobie*, *Jean Laterre*,
Charles Bingote, *Denis Coron*, *Gilles Nichol*, *Pierre*
Bargnet, *Antoine Rastel*, *Jacques Wilson*, et *Tho-*
mas Croquert; all belonging to *Southampton*. They
were cast away in the Ship *Mermaid*, near the
Isles of *Gnores*, in the *Streights*. She belonged to
Southampton, was loaded there with dry Fish, and
bound to *Leghorn*, Captain *Wilson* Commander.

Mr. *Barton* arrived here about Seven in the *Sep. 4.*
Evening from *Hanover*, with Letters from His
Majesty.

Mr. PRIOR presented a Memorial, requiring *Oct. 23*
that the Canal and the new Works at *Mardyke* 1714.
should be demolished.

End of the Journal.

The next Day after Mr. PRIOR had presented The Earl
of *Stairs*
the Memorial above-mentioned, the Earl of *Stairs* succeeds Mr.
was PRIOR.

was appointed to go and succeed him at the Court of *France*. His Lordship went over, but did not take upon him the Title of Ambassador till some time after, on account of the Works erected at *Mardyke*, and some other differences between the two Courts. We find however, from what was observed concerning the Payment of his Arrears, that Mr. PRIOR had not the Character of a public Minister longer than the first of *December* this Year: About which Time, in all Appearance, Lord *Stairs* took Possession of all his Papers that were then to be found: There being no Question but he had, before this, secured those that might have injured himself, or any of his Friends. For the violent Proceedings of the new Ministry, against all who had any Concern in the late Negotiations, were sufficient to put him on his Guard, and make him expect the Storm that soon after followed.

Mr. PRIOR
applies for
the Payment
of his Ar-
rears,

Mr. PRIOR seems to have laboured under some Difficulties, even before the Queen's Death, on Account of the ill Payment of his Salary: And after the late King's Accession, he made such Representations on that Head, as procured the following Letter from his old Colleague the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, who succeeded the Earl of *Oxford* in the Place of Lord Treasurer.

To Mr. PRIOR at Paris.

S I R,

October 4th, 1714.

Duke of
Shrewsbury
to Mr. PRI-
OR,

‘ T H O’ I have been silent, I have never neglected your Concerns. When my Lord *Oxford* quitted the Staff, he had ordered some Money for you, and several others, to the Value of sixty or seventy thousand Pound. These who were to succeed him, got Her Majesty before her Illness, to defer the giving out, or satisfying those Orders, till they should be further considered. After her Majesty's Death, I could issue no Money of that Nature, without a Sign

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Manual from the Lord's Justices, who reasonably declined any Distribution of Money, but what directly tended to the preserving the Peace in Britain.

' Since His Majesty's Arrival, I have several Times mentioned to him the Difficulties and Hardships you lie under. He seems very justly and favourably to enter into them; but as your Arrears are a Part of Her late Majesty's Debts, and they very considerable; tho' I have good Reason to believe what was due to the Queen at Her Demise, will more than pay that Debt; yet the King is desirous to see a State of that Matter before he begins to pay; which could not be done immediately; and is, I think, the only Cause which delays the Dispatch of your Affair. I am so sensible of the Difficulties you lie under upon this Account, that if I had power to remedy them, they should soon be removed: And I make no doubt but when His Majesty has gone thro' these Forms he has prescribed himself, Justice will be done you.'

The Treasury being again new-modelled, and Lord Halifax, another old Friend of Mr. PRIOR's, appointed first Commissioner, Mr. PRIOR was obliged to make fresh Application for the Payment of what was due to him, that he might be enabled to return home with Honour. None of his Letters on this Occasion are to be found among his Papers; but in a Letter from Lord Halifax to him, dated December the 2d, 1714, is the following Passage.

' I read your Letter to the King, and did not omit doing you all the Good I could. The King has ordered you should be paid the Allowance of a Plenipotentiary from the first of August to the first of December, together with a Bill of Extraordinaries, amounting in the Whole
Lord Halifax to Mr. PRIOR.
 ' to

‘ to 1176 pounds. And the Bills that were due
 ‘ in the Queen’s Time, will be paid in Course,
 ‘ out of the Queen’s Arrears.’

But the Ministry were in no haste to make Mr. PRIOR easy, since it appears that he was not so on the 7th of *February*, 1714-15, when he received two Letters on the same Subject, one from Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, and the other from the Earl of *Halifax*. In the Secretary’s were the following Words.

Secretary
Stanhope to
 Mr. PRIOR,

‘ I represented to his Majesty in Council, that
 ‘ it would be impossible for you to return home,
 ‘ unless you were enabled to pay your Debts:
 ‘ Upon which his Majesty has been pleased to direct,
 ‘ that your Demands, as stated to my Lord
 ‘ *Halifax*, be complied with: And accordingly I
 ‘ have signified his Majesty’s Pleasure thereupon
 ‘ to Lord *Halifax*, who I am persuaded will be
 ‘ pleased to serve you.’

His Lordship’s Letter runs thus:

Lord *Halifax*
 to Mr.
 PRIOR.

‘ It is with great Pleasure that I can now let
 ‘ you know, that upon reading my Lord *Stair* his
 ‘ Letter, giving an Account of your Readiness to
 ‘ obey his Majesty’s Orders, the King has directed
 ‘ us to pay you 2408 Pounds, for the two Bills of
 ‘ Extraordinaries which you demanded; which, together
 ‘ with what is due to you yet, on your ordinary Allowance,
 ‘ shall be dispatched with all the Favour and Civility we
 ‘ can shew you. It will be a great Pleasure to me in particular,
 ‘ to hasten your Return from an unhappy and uneasy
 ‘ Station, to your own Country and Friends, in which
 ‘ Number I desire you will rank me. I am, &c.

Mr. PRIOR
 returns to
England, and
 is taken into
 Custody,

This Money being remitted, and Mr. PRIOR having discharged the Demands that were on him

at

at *Paris*, he returned to *England* in the Month of *March*. Upon his Arrival, on the 25th of that Month, he was taken up by an Order of the House of Commons, and committed into the Hands of a Messenger : And on the first of *April*, he underwent a strict Examination before a Committee of the Privy-Council ; the Account of which he thus introduces.

' The severest Article against the Inquisition, is, that those who are called before it, are not allowed a Copy of their Indictment, but must themselves divine the Cause why they are imprisoned. I was called before the Secret Committee, and sworn by Mr. Justice *Boscarwen* to no particular Indictment ; the Committee, on the contrary, assuring me I was not accused of any Crime : The Secretary of State assuring the Committee, that by the King's Order, what I should say should no way affect me. After which they proceeded to a wild Examination, not only of what I had transacted as Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary for three Years before, but of what I might have any ways known or heard of ; what the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Bolingbroke*, and others, concerned in Her Majesty's Affairs, had acted.'

What

What passed at Mr. PRIOR's Examination, before a Committee of the Privy-Council.

Drawn up by HIMSELF.

IN outward Appearance, they were all very civil; set me a Chair equal to the Table where they sat, and next to Secretary *Stanhope*, who had the Books and Papers of the Secretary's Office before him. Mr. *Walpole* the Chairman said little more than mere Compliment. Mr. *Lechmere*, with great Industry, hid from me, and often himself looked into Papers in Folio, unbound, and covered with a blue Sheet. I did not then know what they were, but during the Examination, I perceived it was the Report then printed, and in some few Days after published. He began with an affected Eloquence, that as I had served in a very high Employment, and with very great Applause, the Committee relied upon my Candour and Probity: That as what they asked me was for the King's Service, so what I answered would be for my own Honour. After this some of them began with several vague Questions: What I knew of the Negotiation? How long I had been acquainted with the *Abbe Gautier*? If the Propositions came first from *France*, or if we sent them? And desired me to give them an Account of whatever I could of that whole Matter; which, it seems, they thought I was so ready to do, that some of them took their Pens and Paper, as if I were to begin a Sermon, and they to take short Notes.

I said, That as I had always acted abroad by the Authority of the Crown of *England*, and had, in Obedience to the King's Commands, given up
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all the Memorials and Papers which related to that Part of the Peace in which I had a Share, I was desirous to answer the Honourable Committee (before whom I understood such Papers were) in every thing that might help to explain them: That my Books were already before them: and, as I had already written to Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, those Books must even speak for themselves. The Committee seemed to acquiesce in my Answer. Lord *Con.** whispered the Chairman, and said, No, we will begin with the Money.

The Committee then desired to know what Money I drew from the Treasury in 1711, when I went into *France*. I answered, Two hundred Pounds; and, as I remembered, that was the Sum. I had either Credit from Mr. *Clifford*, on his Correspondent, or from Monsieur *Cantillon*: I could not well remember which, it being now four Years since. Had you these Bills, some of them said, from my Lord Treasurer? I replied, No. They asked me, Was it by his Order? I said, I hoped there was no Occasion for a Reply to that Question. I presumed it would be found, as other Money expended on the like Occasion, by Direction of the Sovereign. I found they were not pleased with this Answer. *Wal.* said, Will you think a little of the Method in which this Examination is to proceed? And Mr. PRIOR will be pleased in the mean Time to retire a little.

When I was called in again, the same Question was asked me, and the same Answer returned. I added, That I well hoped those Sums, and several others of much greater Importance, were paid: That otherwise, for want of Knowledge in the Crown Laws, I should find my self a Beggar; and from an Hotel at *Paris*, might spend the rest of my Days in the Counter: And here I addressed myself to Mr. *Stanhope*, as to what I had writ to him concerning my Debts. He said, That no-

* *Coningsby.*

thing of all this concerned me. *P.* I must apply myself to you upon another Head. I must own myself unexperienced in the Method of Parliament; I have no Papers by me; I have no Council; for want of Memory or Judgment I may err; and tho', Gentlemen, I am accused of nothing, I know not but that I may accuse myself through Inadvertency or Mistake.

Here Mr. *Stanhope* rose up, and told the Committee, That he had the King's particular Direction, that whatever I said to them, or they to the House of Commons, should not be of any Prejudice to myself. I took a Sheet of Paper, which lay before me, and wrote this down, as I did what they had already said to me. Here, after they had whispered, and some even separated themselves from the Table to confer in a Corner of the Room, the Chairman told me I might withdraw; which I did, leaving the Notes I had taken upon the Table.

When I was called in again, I found their Civility much abated, and the Battery quite changed. The most confused Questions were put to me, upon several Heads, backward and forward, by *Lecb.* and *Bosc.* and *Con.* (the two first of whom I think understood not one Word of what they were saying). *Con.* at length prevailed. Mr. PRIOR, you were sent out that you might have Time to recollect more particularly upon whom you had Credit, when my Lord of *Oxford* sent you into *France*. *P.* I have great Respect to the Earl of *Oxford*; but he never sent me into *France*. And turning to Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, who had the Books of the Office of 1711 in his Hand, I said, That as I had the Honour to be sent into *France* by the Queen's especial Appointment and immediate Direction, I presumed the Copy of my Powers were to be found in the Books before him*. He turning to it, Mr. PRIOR, is this the

* Vide the Report, Folio 3.

Copy of your Instructions? *P.* I believe it is ; but to give the Committee no further Trouble on this Head, I am ready either now, or any other Time, to produce the Original, as I think it may tend to my Service. Being asked of whom I received Money in *France*? I answered of Monsieur *Cantillon*. *Bosc.* Was he not a Papist? *P.* Else, Sir, he could not have been a Banker at *Paris*, which he had been for several Years before I knew him. In one Word, he was the common Banker to whom the *English* addressed themselves, and I think *Clifford* of *Amsterdam* was his Correspondent. *Stan.* and *Wal.* I found frowning and nodding at each other, and extremely ashamed at this vile Stuff.

Being sent out, and called in again, I found the Thunder broke out. *Wal.* referred it to *Stan.* to speak. *Stan.* The Committee are not satisfied with your Behaviour to them. I have already told you, that the Lords above, and the Committee here, have taken Notice, that they find a constant Correspondence on your Side to Lord Treasurer, but no Answers from him ; whereas all your Letters from Lord *Bolingbroke* are entire, and commonly in their right Order. Some of those indeed are misfing. The whole Committee ecchoed the same Thing. *P.* I was told some Hours since, by this Honourable Committee, that I should be asked nothing that might prejudice myself. I am a good deal confused ; I have no Council ; and with great Respect, I look upon this to be a downright Accusation of myself, as if I should have held any Correspondence I was unwilling to declare. I must refer my self to you in this Point, Mr. *Stanhope*. The Letters that we receive, when abroad, from the Secretaries of State, we keep, copying our Answers to them, both which justify our acting according to our Orders sent us ; and I presume it will be found that my Letters, which you have in your own Keeping, answer those written to me by the Secretaries of State under whose Depart-

ments I acted ; which Letters you have likewise. You have also the Letters I have wrote to the Lord Treasurer in my Books, at least those of them that related to the public Affair, and consequently were worth keeping. I did not, nor could I expect a constant Correspondence from him. What I wrote was for his Information ; what Use his Lordship made of that Information, I had reason to presume was for the Queen's Service ; and the Answers and Directions to me were to come by the Secretary of State. *Commit.* It is very strange, that not above two or three Letters should appear from my Lord Treasurer. Did he not write more to you ? *P.* He writ to me several Times, and I obeyed his Commands intimated to me therein. Those Commands performed, the Letters were of no Use, and I no more kept them, than I did Letters received from other Noblemen, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Halifax*, Lord *Harcourt*, then Lord Chancellor, &c. They related no otherwise to the Negotiation, than in commending me, assuring me that he represented my Services to the Queen in a right Light, and wishing a speedy End to the Negotiation, that I might come home to him.

I was sent out again, and recalled ; was asked how many Letters I might in all have received from my Lord Treasurer, and what was the Substance of any of them. *P.* As to the Number, I cannot particularly tell ; I received a Letter from him sometimes of five, sometimes of ten or twelve Lines, ordering me to pay Sums of Money to Persons who had the Queen's Pension, and were then in *France*, or recommending some of his particular Friends to my Acquaintance, or, which I thought much better, telling me he had ordered the Payment of my Bills ; but I might very safely affirm, that I had no Letter that could possibly concern the Committee, or any body else. I have one Letter that as Lord Treasurer he writ to me, which related to the Payment of the Downy of

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King James's Queen Mary; a Thing publickly transacted, and known here in *England*: But as no Progress was made in that Affair during my Stay in *France*, and that it did not belong to the Negotiation of the Peace, I had not indeed given up that Letter, but, as I thought, I could find it, or the Copy of it, if it should have been thought of any Use. In the mean time, I thought proper, in case any Thing had been done in that matter, to keep that Letter for my own Justification; as indeed it would have been my Order. *Bosc.* Sir, you say you do not know how many Letters you had; Might you have ten? *P.* I believe I might, *Bosc.* Might you have fourteen? *P.* I believe I might. *Bosc.* Might you have sixteen? *P.* Indeed, Mr. *Bosc.* I have told you that I cannot answer you to any indefinite number. It was still urged with great Vehemence, that I kept a constant Correspondence with my Lord Treasurer. *P.* I am very far from denying it; but he did not keep a constant Correspondence with me. It was my Duty to write to him, and he was to make what Use he pleased of my Letters. I complained sometimes of the Objections I met with at the Court of *France* in the Execution of my Orders; and was very glad when by the Letters from the Secretary of State, I found my Difficulty made easier: But, Gentlemen, since we are upon this Subject, throughout the whole Course of my Letters to my Lord Treasurer, and even in those I wrote to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, after his Grace's Return, both in *England* and *Ireland*, I still complained that my Lord Treasurer did not write to me. And here indeed, being very much teized and vexed, my Lord *Con.* raving and threatening that these Letters must be produced; I said, If there be such Letters in the World, that contain the Secrets of the Negotiation written by my Lord Treasurer, it might be very well presumed, his Lordship kept Copies of them, and he must produce them: For, said I, by the eternal God I

know of no such Letters; and you know, my Lord, that your Countryman is no very exact Correspondent. This I said, having known that my Lord *Con* had troubled great Men, if not my Lord Treasurer particularly, with Letters, who had never taken Care to answer him. I grant this was very foolishly said; for one should never provoke a Hedge-Hog. *Con.* breaking out into a great Passion, This is imposing upon the Committee! *P.* Imposing, my Lord, is a very hard Word. He lifted up his Voice in Anger, and was going on: But *Stan.* yet louder than he, swore, that he could produce every individual Scrip of Paper that had been written to him by any Man alive, or that he had written to any Man during his being a Minister abroad. *P.* Mr. *Stanhope*, I am sorry I cannot do the like; if it be so, you are the most careful Minister that ever yet were sent abroad. They proceeded in asking me to give an Account of what, they said, I must needs know of the Meeting of the Lords at my House, with *Mesnager* and *Gaultier*. I had already heard, that they had consulted their Friends of the Law upon that Point, and had determined to fix upon that Meeting, wherein the Preliminaries were signed, as an Accusation of Treason. How justly I leave to the Judgment of all disinterested and honest Men; since first, in the Nature of the Thing, it is impossible for any two Nations in War to come ever to an Accommodation, or begin any Plan, upon which a future Peace may be founded, without some Overture and Intervention of this Kind. All Treaties, from that of *Vervens* down to this Day, have been thus mediated. *Calvert* was in *Holland*, and discoursed and conferred privately with Monsieur *Dyckvelt*, on the Part of the States, above two Years before he took a public Character, and signed the Treaty of *Ryswick*. Monsieur *de Torcy* was publickly in *Holland*, 1709, conferred with the Pensioner, and the Deputies of the States; and our own Plenipotentiaries the Duke

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of Marlborough and Lord Townshend, reported from those Deputies to Her Majesty, what the French Minister either proposed or granted. *Mefnager* had as full Powers as *France* could give, had owned the Queen's Authority, and seen her Person; and had, by Her Majesty's Directions, several Times conferred with the Lords of a Committee of Cabinet; all the World seeing the Man, and knowing the Fact: So that any Meeting after this could not be secret, dangerous, or treasonable. Mr. *St. John's* Letter of the 25th of September, 1711, to Her Majesty, informs Her immediately of this Meeting, and her Majesty approves of what is there done, by Her especial Warrant for signing the Preliminaries, containing, The Demands made by her Order *.

It may be observed that Mr. *St. John* writes to the Queen thus,

“ The Committee of Council met this Morning
“ at the *Cockpit*, and directed the Earl of *Dart-*
“ *mouth* and myself to confer with Monsieur *Mef-*
“ *nager*: We saw him accordingly this Evening,
“ at Mr. PRIOR's House, where my Lord Treas-
“ urer and Lord Chamberlain were likewise pre-
“ sent.” The Treason therefore, if there were any, was committed in the Morning by the Committee of Council, and at the *Cockpit*, and not at Mr. PRIOR's House in the Evening. It may properly here be added, the Queen had signed a Warrant the 17th of September, 1711, to the Lord Keeper, for full Powers*; in which my Lord *Harcourt*, then Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord Treasurer, the Duke of *Buckingham*, President of the Council, the Bishop of *Bristol*, Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, Lord Chamberlain, the Earl *Poulett*, Lord Steward of the Household, and the Earl of *Dartmouth*, and Mr. *St. John*, Secretaries of State, and MATTHEW PRIOR, Esq; were nominated and empowered to

* Appendix to the Report, Page 8.

† Appendix to the Report, Page 7.

meet with the *Sieur Mesnager*, provided with sufficient Authority to settle an eventual or conditional Convention between Her Majesty and the most Christian King; and that this Warrant was not made use of, for Reasons given, being very natural, because they were Offers only on the *French Side*, and did not oblige Her Majesty to any Thing: So they were only signed *Mesnager*, and *Dartmouth* and *St. John* are only Witnesses that these Articles are to be looked upon as Conditions which his most Christian Majesty agrees to grant, and which are afterwards to be reduced into Form, and explained to the common Satisfaction of *Great Britain* and *France*. Though this Procedure will, without doubt, hereafter appear consonant to common Sense, conducive to the Safety and Good of *Great Britain*, and justifiable by the universal Custom and Law of Nations, *Nunc non erat his locus*. I said, Monsieur *Mesnager* had often been at my House; that the Secretary of State had seen him there; that I had eat and drank, and been abroad with him several Times. They took great hold of this. *Bosc.* expressed himself with great Joy, This is more than we knew before! And from thence they ran wildly back, When I knew *Gaultier*? Where I had been with *Mesnager*? I answered to this in as general Terms as I could. The Chairman perceived that they would lose their Point in this Multiplicity of Questions, and, checking their Speed, restrained it to this one Demand. *Chairm.* What Lords were present at your House, at the Meeting when the preliminary Articles were talked of, or signed? I answer'd, The two Secretaries of State; for it is certain they were so, their Names appearing in the Instrument. *Chairm.* Was my Lord of *Oxford* there? *P.* I cannot recollect it: One of the Lords were absent; whether the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, or the Earl of *Oxford*, I cannot tell. In all Sincerity and Honour this is Truth. They grew extremely anger'd upon it,

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it, and sent me out to recollect if both these Lords were not present.

I came in, and assured them again, That as well as I could remember a Transaction, of which I took no Notes, and which was now above three Years past, and of which I was so far from expecting to be called to any Account, that I thought it was an Honour to me, I could not determine which of the two were absent. I said again, That this was Fact, that I do not remember it: I have only an Idea that one of them was absent. The Answer indeed had this Effect, that it was the same Thing as if they were both absent, since they could not determine which of them was present. But upon this Meeting no less Accusation than an Article of High Treason was to be founded. Was any Thing more difficult ever put upon a Man, than to endeavour to extort an Evidence from me, in order to bring those to the Scaffold who were Friends and Patrons, under whose Orders formerly, and with whom jointly now, I had the Honour to act, by the Queen's Directions, and in a Matter not only innocent, but laudable! Or could any thing be more absurd, or more inhuman, than to propose to me a Question, by the answering of which I might (according to them) prove myself a Traytor! Since, as I had heard, every Man who is a Partner, is a Principal in Treason: And notwithstanding their solemn Promise, that nothing which I could say should hurt myself, I had no Reason to trust them; for they violated that Promise about five Hours after (as I shall say anon). However, I owned I was there present. Whether this was wisely done or no, I leave to my Friends to determine.

From my being taken up by Order of the House of Commons, this Examination was just a Week. They now, after I had been turned out, and returned again, interrogated me: If since my being taken into Custody, I had not seen my Lord of Oxford, or any of his Relations? I said, I had

I had seen my Lord of *Oxford* the last *Sunday* at Mr. *Thomas Harley*'s House; and was going on to explain that Mr. *Thomas Harley* and I, who were taken up at the same Time, (living within three Doors of each other) commonly dined together at one or the other of our Houses, our respective Messengers guarding us. That on *Sunday* going to dine with Mr. *Harley*, I saw my Lord of *Oxford* at the Stair-head, going out; that I asked him if he dined with us: He told me, he was to dine in better Company: That this was all that passed between us; the Messenger at the Bottom of the Stairs heard every Word I said to him. As I was telling this, they answered it was sufficient, I had seen my Lord of *Oxford*, and his near Relation; which was the Question ask'd.

I here was ordered to retire, and when I was called in again, the Chairman, from amongst many Books and Papers, which he had before him, (and the Secretary of State had on the other Side as many; and I perceived many of them were my own) the Chairman, I say, abruptly enough threw one Half sheet of the large Demy Paper, written very foul, and razed in several Places, which, indeed, when he gave into my Hand, I hardly knew what it was, so far as to give any reasonable Account of it, it being without Date or Title, and, as I say, very imperfect as to the very Words and Stile. He asked me dryly, and without any other previous Word, If I knew that Hand? P. There are two Hands in it, one is very like the Hand I write when first I make any Brouillon. *One or two of the Committee.* Sir, What do you mean by a Brouillon? P. When I write any Thing at first only for my own Memory, as to what I would draw up after in a more perfect Manner. I perused this Piece of Paper, and, upon a little Reflection, directing myself to Mr. *Stanhope*, said, I believed this Paper contained some Notes upon a Letter I received from his Predecessor, my Lord *Bolingbroke*. He was apprised of

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of this before : for he readily turned to the Letter which was registered in the Office-Book. I added, that I thought there were some Notes I had taken in the *French* Language, to enable me to speak more particularly to Monsieur *de Torcy* of the Matters mentioned in the said Secretary's Letter. As that Letter was written four Years before, and I was not in Possession of my own Letters, the Secretary himself and the Committee could best inform themselves of the Substance thereof. There was written, *My Lord, Tr. ne doute point que la Cour de France n'y trouve de remede.* Now whatever Lord that might mean, they had already printed it my Lord Treasurer * : and in so doing had given that Sentence the wrongest Construction imaginable, as proving that my Lord Treasurer would give up *Tournay* to *France* ; whereas the whole Hint was meant to renew to the Ministers at that Court, that *Tournay* was to be given to the Allies ; and it was to keep the Court of *France* from endeavouring to hope the contrary. As what was in this Brouillon was sometimes an Abridgment, and sometimes a verbal Translation of my Lord *Bolingbroke's* Letter, which Mr. *Stanhope* still held close, and as I read the *French* into *English*, I asked him if the same Sense was in the Letter. He did not deny it. *Con.* grew extremely angry, and on a sudden broke out into some Expressions, which neither he should have utter'd, nor will I repeat ; and so I was ordered to withdraw again ; which was into the next Room, where not only a Messenger of the House of Commons, but a Door-Keeper of the Secretary's Office, waited all Day, and were still ready to receive me.

Being called in again, I was interrogated without Method or Connection, as any Member of the Committee pleased ; and indeed with Confusion and Disorder enough among themselves ; for

† Vide the Report, Page 34.

they

they sometimes stopped each other's Question, and proposed new ones of their own. At last it came to this. *Chairm.* Mr. PRIOR, we cannot doubt but that you are apprised of the whole Affair of *Tournay*. Did my Lord ever write about *Tournay*? *P.* I cannot readily answer, as not understanding the Force of the Question: I believe my Lord Treasurer may have writ to me concerning *Tournay* at the Beginning of the Negotiation: I am sure he has spoke to me about *Tournay*: I may be mistaken as to the Time; but I think in 1711 the *French* insisted upon their having *Tournay*: But I very well remember, * that the Queen's Instructions to her Ambassadors for the general Peace, were positive that the *Dutch* should have it: I understood the Negotiation to continue always upon that Foot. I added, that as the Affair of the Barrier was transacted at *Utrecht*, I had nothing in my Instructions relating to that whole Matter, otherwise than as it might relate in general to the Peace. What I have of the whole Negotiation is before you. Here *Wal.* and *Stan.* grew mightily perplexed; one in a fullen, and t'other in an unbounded Passion. *Con.* raved outright. I may justly protest that I could not conceive the Cause of this Disorder; for I did not know that they had already founded their High Treason upon the Articles of *Tournay*, against my Lord Treasurer; nor can I since comprehend why they did. To shew the Justice, as well as the good Judgment of these Men, it must certainly appear not only extravagant, but ridiculous to all who think righter than the Committee, that is, to all Men living, that an Article of High Treason should be founded against an *English* Minister upon *Tournay*, which was not given up to the *French*, and no mention ever made of *Lisle*, which actually was given up. This by the way. It may be further observed,

* Vide Answer to the Memorial, dated Nov. 18, 1711. Append. to the Report, Page 14. the Queen's Instructions to Her Plenipotentiaries, *ibid*, Page 20,

that at that Time not one third Part of the Committee themselves did know upon what Point the Accusations either against the Earl of *Oxford*, or any Man else, were to be grounded; several of them having since told me themselves, that they never drew up or read the Report; but that those Things came to them, as they merrily expressed it, ready cut and dried.

But to return to my Journal; this various and incoherent manner of Examination having now lasted above nine Hours. Two of my Masters (by the way) Mr. *Onslow* and Mr. *Erle*, had left the Committee almost at the Beginning of the Day; for to give them their Due, they asked me very few Questions while there, and by going away seemed ashamed of the Proceeding: And now *Wal.* himself grew weary of it, and was going, but hindered, and, as it were, kept in the Chair by Mr. *Stan.* who said openly, they could not go on without the Chairman. I was ordered to withdraw, and during about half an Hour's Recess into the next Room, or rather Passage, as the Door was by chance opened, I heard them extremely warm and loud with one another. Whilst I was in this little Room, in which the Messenger under whose Custody I was, and a Door-Keeper of the Secretary's Office, as I have already said, were waiting, *Con.* came out by a back Way, as *Bosc.* did by the fore Door. In this Room was a Trunk, and in it several Papers and Memorials, to which the Committee had Recourse during the Examination. The Trunk was open, and I could not but perceive by the Indorsements, that many of the Papers were my own. *Con.* whispered the Officers to take care that I should not come nigh the Trunk, and really looked on me more like a Fury than a Man; though certainly I had all the Right imaginable to see every Paper that related to me in my Examination, which was pretended to be made upon no other Foot, than that the King should be informed of what I had done for his
Service

Service in the Negotiation of the Peace; and if the Committee themselves had really a Mind to be appriz'd of the Truth as to Fact, the hindering a Man whom they intended should become an Evidence from seeing his own Papers, was but an ill Method towards his giving them a clearer Intelligence.

I was now called in for the last Time, and I found that they had collected several Heads of what they thought proper I should set my Hand to. I read them, and made some Objections thereunto, but to no Purpose. I said, that to many Questions I had not, nor could answer, in the positive manner that was there set down: That as to divers Facts, I could not take Things upon my Memory: That as to others, I had indeed said I believed, I thought, I had heard, or understood they were so: That the Omission of these Words made me say positively, and as an Evidence, what I should not be able to maintain, having only answered them as my Memory served me, and as much as I knew of the Heads upon which I had been interrogated; knowing that they themselves had blamed my Answers, for being very imperfect; and I had more than once told them, I was sorry I could not answer them more fully. I objected against these Words: *He confesses that since his Confinement he has conversed with the Earl of Oxford, and his nearest Relations.* I did not, I said, confess. Confession supposes a Crime, I was told, I was accused of none. I said I had seen the Earl of Oxford at Mr. Thomas Harley's; and as I was going to tell the Thing again, Jesus! said *Con.* how perjur'd is this Man? *P.* My Lord, have a care of——. *Con.* No, Sir, 'tis you that must have a care. Seeing now the Face of the Committee against me, knowing and presuming that if ever the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Oxford, or Lord Bolingbroke himself, should be brought to Trial, I must be sure before the Lords have an Opportunity of explaining what I had

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had said, and declaring what Usage I had found from the Committee, I signed the Paper. I cannot here omit a ridiculous Instance of my *Middlesex* Justice's Skill in the Law: He was just going to set his Name on the Left Hand of the Paper, where I was to have set mine; and if he had not been timely cautioned by the Chairman, it would have been the Deposition of *Hugh Boscarwen, jurat, coram me, Matt. Prior.*

When I had thus signed the Paper, the Chairman told me, that the Committee were not at all satisfied with my Behaviour, nor could give such an Account of it to the House that might merit their Favour in my Behalf: That at present they thought fit to lay me under a stricter Confinement than that of my own House. Here *Bojc.* played the Moralist, and *Con.* the Christian; but both very awkwardly. *Bojc.* said, that he had often heard Mr. *Stepney* (who was a wise Man) and our old Friend, repeat this Proverb, *Near is my Shirt, but nearer my Skin*; and told me, if I had remembered that Saying, and acted according to it, it would have been better for me. And *Con.* said, he had known me a long Time, and was heartily sorry for my Condition; but all this proceeded from my own Fault. Now this kind Commiseration did not last above a Minute; for the Messenger to whose House they intended to confine me, being called, *Con.* * asked him if his House were secured by Bolts and Bars. The Messenger †, who is by Birth a Gentleman, and a very good-natur'd Man, was astonished at the Question; and answered, that he never had any in his Custody but Parliament Prisoners, (as he expressed it) and there were nei-

* Lord *Coningsby*'s Behaviour, during this Examination, seems to have been the Ground of that Resentment express'd against him by Mr. PRIOR in his Ballads of *Down-Hall* and the *Viceroy*; the first of which is in the Third Volume of his former Works, and the other in the Second of these posthumous Volumes.

† Mr. *Hollingshead*.

Mr. PRIOR's Examination.

ther Bolts nor Bars in his House. At which *Con* very angrily said, Sir, you must secure this Prisoner; it is for the Safety of the Nation; if he escapes, you shall answer for it. And now I met with another Hardship, which indeed, I could not have expected, as I had all Day taken Notes of the Heads of their Examination, and my Answers, and particularly that *Mr. Stanhope* had, by his Majesty's Order, informed the Committee, that from whatever I should say in this Examination, nothing should or ought to rebound to my own Prejudice: Nor indeed could it be imagined I should answer upon any other Foot; for without the King's Consent, I doubt if I ought at all to have answered to the Committee.

M. P.

These Proceedings in the Committee of Council, and the ill Usage he thought he had met with in the Report of the *Secret Committee* of the House of Commons, occasioned *Mr. PRIOR* to undertake a Defence of Himself and the late Ministry, against the Charge attempted to be maintained in the said Report. This Defence, as far as he had finish'd it, with References to the Report itself, is here exactly printed from his own Papers.

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Mr. PRIOR's Answer to the Report of the Committee of Secresy, appointed by Order of the House of Commons, to examine several Books and Papers laid before the House, relating to the late Negotiations of Peace and Commerce.

THE * Committee report to the House, that they have examined several Papers and Books relating to the late Negotiations of Peace and Commerce ; To the Demolition of *Dunkirk* ; To the *Assiento* Contract ; To the Affair of the *Catalans*, and secret Negotiations relating to the Pretender.

† They begin with the Negotiations of Peace. The intended Demolition of *Dunkirk*, as it is artificially called, as likewise the *Assiento*, and the Affair of the *Catalans*, is referred to another Opportunity, *ad Græcas Calendas*: And as to any Correspondence proved between the Ministry and the Pretender, another Time, and another Report may bring it to Light: But as to what is hinted of this Kind, your hear no Word of it till Page the 5^d; and what is there said evinces quite the contrary to the Promise made in the very first Page.

The first Thing they express, is, The Surprise they are in to find several Books and Papers wanting. To find them wanting is extreme good *English*; but the Sense this Phrase must bear, is, That they sought for what they could not find. As for Books, I know not what they could mean: I presume the ordinary Letters and Entries, relating to the Negotiation, as they were left, might

* June the 9th, 1715.

† Page 1.

consequently.

consequently be found in the Offices of the Secretaries of State. Lord *Bolingbroke* had so little Time to suppress or take away any Papers, that, as I have heard say, many of his private Correspondencies were seized. The Earl of *Strafford's* Papers were delivered up immediately upon his Arrival in *England*; as Mr. PRIOR's † were to the Earl of *Stairs* at *Paris*. They were all put into the Hands of a Secretary of State; but from thence indeed they were severally given to Persons who were to read them, and make Extracts out of them: To Persons, I say, who neither by their Profession or Knowledge in the World, could be thought competent Judges of them. But they cannot find; so that as they find least, Men are to be judged more culpable, and the supposed Crime of the Accused increases, as the Accuser knows less of the Matter. Upon this Way of Reasoning, I had rather a Jury should bring me in guilty of High Treason, than return it *Ignoramus*.

As to Books collected and bound together, relating to the Pretender and his Interest, I presume they could not expect to find such in the Office: I mean by this, that they could mean just nothing.

The first material Paper found, is named The first Propositions of *France*, signed by Monsieur *de Torcy*. This Paper is transmitted by Mr. *St. John* to my Lord *Raby* at the *Hague*. There is but || five Days between the Queen's receiving these Propositions, and her communicating them to her Allies: And in this Proposition it is remarkable, that the Barrier in the *Low Countries* was, that this Barrier should be agreeable to *England*, and the good Liking of the *English*. The Preamble indeed is a little untoward: For his most

† By Mr. PRIOR's speaking of himself in the third Person, it seems as if he had designed this Defence for an anonymous Publication.

|| April 22, and 27, 1711.

Christian Majesty says, That those who governed the Republic of *Holland* had industriously rendered the Negotiations fruitless, since the Separation of the Conference at *Gertruydenburg*. Her Majesty takes Notice to her Minister, that in them there is an Air of Complaisance shewn to them in *England*. Why should there not be such? The Effusion of very much *British* Blood; the vast Expence of a consuming War unequally carried on, and at last become impracticable, as the Parliament expressed it some time after, the very Dignity of the Crown, might require such Complaisance. The *Dutch* could not be offended at it, nor do otherwise than thank her Majesty for this Communication; † and they do acknowledge the Queen's Goodness upon this Occasion. They declare themselves weary of the War, which, they say, they endeavour to conceal from the Enemy. But how far they did conceal it, or how they acted with her Majesty reciprocally, I shall touch in the Sequel of these Papers. This being only premised by the Way, that whereas the Committee do not find any Communication to the States, of any Negotiation carried on for five Months after, let them only look to the seventh Page, where the Report says, That Monsieur *de Torcy* had written in *June* both to the Pensioner and Monsieur *Vander Dussen*, giving an Account that they [the *French*] had begun a Negotiation in *England*: So far was it from being kept a Secret from our Friends in *Holland*, either on our Part or that of *France*.

|| The Paper called Mr. PRIOR's Authority, is signed *Anne R.* at the Top, and *A. R.* at the Bottom; nor counter-signed. A terrible Accusation from Persons versed in Business, Privy-Counsellors, Chancellors, &c. No Powers, from those of the least Agent to the greatest Plenipotentiary, were ever counter-signed; and I believe these Gentlemen

will be of Opinion, that *A. R.* at the Bottom of the Paper, was a better Warrant for Mr. PRIOR's Action, than *Henry St. John's* or *Dartmouth's* could have been.

|| The next Thing worth remarking is, That the *English* Ministry determined to carry on a separate Negotiation with *France*: That the Secret should be kept inviolably, till allowed to be divulged by the Consent of both Parties. How this was to be understood, I have already shewn, the Queen, as well as *Monsieur de Torcy*, having communicated it to *Holland*. This Keeping the Secret, is a Form used in every Treaty that ever was made, and means that it should be communicated to as few as may be. But the Queen has here broke her Word with *France*. Is this a Fault? If she had kept it, would not that have been yet a greater? But that any Negotiation of this Kind, in which so many Princes and States are jointly concerned, could possibly be carried on without some Restriction of this Kind, will be evident from what I shall anon observe; from what has been always practised by all Nations engaged in Alliance of War; from what the Emperor and the *Dutch*, the chief of our Allies, have done in relation to us and each other, during this and the present War; and from what we have reciprocally done towards them under the Ministry of these Men, who stand ready now to complain and impeach.

At the Beginning of the Report, the Committee said, they could not find that the *Dutch* were ever acting privately with *France*. A strange I—— in Men of their Penetration. Some of them sure must have known that the States have never desisted, even since their breaking off the Conferences at *Gertruydenburg* and the *Hague*, to correspond with *France*. They have their Agents all the while out. *Leers*, under a Pretence of

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trafficking Books, wrote constantly to *Paris*, and *Petticum* was actually negotiating with that Crown. Mr. PRIOR says, (I do not know if he lyes or not) that at his Arrival at *Fontainbleau*, at the Beginning of *August*, 1711, he saw three Letters writ from Monsieur *de Petticum* to Monsieur *de Torcy*, written, as *Petticum* says, by the Order of the Pensionary himself. He invites Mr. *de Torcy* to renew the Conferences so unhappily broke off with *Holland*. He says, he is ready to come to *Paris*; or to meet any Person authorized by *France*, at *Amiens*, or elsewhere. He promises it shall be more advantageous to *France* to begin with *Holland* separately: That his most Christian Majesty has only to propose his own Terms, and the States shall agree to them. He adds, too truly indeed, that the intestine Divisions in *England*, will render any Negotiation with us impracticable; for that one Party will certainly oppose what the other would consent to, how just or reasonable soever. He explains, that one of our Parties has a very great Interest in *Holland*: He names them as the Persons most concerned in our Banks and Stocks here; moneyed Men, not well affected to the Ministry here at home, who are rather inclined to a Land Interest. He insinuates the Emperor's Desire of continuing the War. So evident it is, that there was an Endeavour to wrest the Negotiation out of the Queen's Hand, notwithstanding what is asserted in the Report ||. This I take to be the great and true Reason, why the Negotiation did not advance between *April* and *August*; and indeed, as we had a great Party here, so there were some Ministers in *France* too visibly interested in the *Dutch* Faction. I do not speak it to their Reproach; for they thought it more for the Interest of their Country, that a Republic, whom they might in Time crush, should be now favoured, rather than that a Mo-

narchy, whom they always dreaded, should be secured and advantaged.

Amongst other Arguments, this was one at that Time made use of, That *Great Britain*, as Matters then stood, could not begin to treat, because we could not own King PHILIP: Whereas the *Dutch* had always used such Civility to that Prince, that it would be more easy and practicable for them to begin; upon which we could not refuse to follow. These Things indeed ought to have been forgotten, and obliterated in the Peace; but the Opposers of it make it necessary, even for the Safety and Honour of the Persons concerned in it, that they should be mentioned. Far from designing therein to hurt any Man, and not saying any Thing hard upon this Subject, I proceed to the 4th Page, the Grounds upon which the whole Report is founded; viz. a supposed Breach of the Grand Alliance on our Side.

Neutri partium fas sit de pace cum hoste tractare nisi conjunctim.—The Accusation is, That we treated separately, in Violation of the Grand Alliance; and it is immediately observed, that the Preliminaries are signed before any Thing had been finally concluded for the Security of *Great Britain*. How then as yet is this Article violated? Or what Reason has any Ally to take it ill? But if any Thing had been concluded for the Security of *Great Britain*, would this have extenuated the Offence? Not in the least. We ought not, it seems, to have made any such Security. The Argument turns both ways; and if the Ministers did or did not stipulate for the Advantage of their Country, they are equally culpable.

But if before any Treaty begun, and in order to oblige Her Majesty to hear only what the Enemy desired to begin to treat upon, as well for Herself, as for Her Allies, the Enemy offered any Thing, which, when finally concluded, may be for the Security of *Great Britain*; shall an *English* Ministry be accused either for hearing what

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what the Enemy would treat upon, or for turning the Beginning of this Treaty to the Advantage, or at least to the Security (for this seems to be the Objection) of their Country, at the same Time that they hear all those Advantages proposed in Favour of the Allies, that the Queen is obliged by any Stipulation whatsoever to procure for them: Tho' the Cause were tried at *Frankfort* or *Amsterdam*, the Ministry must be cleared upon this Point? But in *Westminster-Hall*, I will not doubt but that such an Endeavour will be adjudged just, honest, laudable, and stand recorded in the Hearts of all true *Britons*, to the lasting Honour of the Persons concerned in it. Let us consider the Force of this terrible Article. Neither Party shall treat, *i. e.* make a Treaty without the Consent of the other. Shall therefore neither Party hear if the Enemy has a Desire to treat at all; and in such a Case, shall neither Party have Power to communicate to his Ally what the Enemy proposes, or at what Place or Time the Delegates of all Parties may meet together to confer? Is the Article to be restrained to this Sense? No Trumpet then can ever be sent, no Captive redeemed, or Hostage exchanged, without the previous Consent of the whole Alliance: Thousands and ten Thousands must have perished during this long War in Prison, unhappily added to those slain in the Field. In one Word, if we would ever have Peace, we must either send to *France*, or *France* must send to us. The Sea is the Frontier between the two Kingdoms, and it is impossible by any other Means for each Nation to know the immediate Sentiments of the other; or else we must be contented to let the Enemy apply to us, and we reciprocally to him, by the Intercourse and Mediation of some third Party. What great Disadvantage the Crown and People of *Great Britain* have received from this last Method, and to what dreadful Precipices we were driven by pursuing it, is evident to any Man who reads

reads the Preliminary Engagements, and Treaties entered upon for six Years past; and if the Accusation against the late Ministry comes originally from the other Side of the Water, it is a previous Declaration in Favour of the Persons concerned. It objects to them only, that would avoid those apparent Inconveniencies, in which too manifestly their Country had suffered much, and is likely still to suffer more by this mediate and second-hand way of treating: And may we not as well make our Bargain, as leave it to be made by our Neighbours, how cordially soever they might manage for us? Are we obliged to trust our Allies in Negotiations of the greatest Consequence, and where, God knows, we had the deepest Concern; and shall those Allies not trust us? A Child would be ashamed of the Absurdity of such Reasoning.

The Article, I will yet take it for granted, is not only a Restriction upon us, but it is equally obligatory to all the Allies; and yet the People only named as injured by us, are the *Dutch*; whereas every Prince and State concerned in the Alliance, have the same Reason of Complaint. Now it will easily be granted impracticable, that every Motion or Proposal towards a Peace should be transmitted to all. The *Dutch* therefore have a greater Right in this Case than the Emperor, or any other Ally; or the Argument is void. At this Rate, we are to hear from our Enemies but by the Mouth of a Cannon; and the just Consequence that follows upon this Construction of the Text, is that all Means of Peace are cut off, and the War, to the Joy of those that delight in it, is entailed upon us for ever.

Let us consider,

First, How we came under these inviolable Obligations, to which these Religious Observers of Treaties would bind us down for ever.

Secondly,

Secondly, How our Allies have dealt with us in this Regard.

The Grand Alliance was a Bargain, and not a very advantageous one for *England*, had it been never so strictly made good. The Obligations of it were reciprocal. How negligently our Allies kept to their Part of it for thirteen Years, and how that Neglect increased every Year, as it was complained of in the Time of the Earl of *Godolphin's* Administration, promised often to be redressed, till at last, by plain Extracts and Accounts laid before the Parliament, it appeared that the *Dutch* had not complied with one Third of what they were, by the most solemn Contract, to furnish, is evident to the whole Nation; till at last the States very roundly told us, that they had done all they could, were not obliged to act according to the Exactness of the Quota's and Contingents agreed to, and that we should force them into a separate Peace, if we insisted upon these Proportions, or even restrained an open Trade which they carried on with *France*; which Trade was disadvantageous to *Great Britain*, by near a Million Sterling *per Annum*. Thus they performed their Obligations to us. How they acted with the Emperor, even in relation to this very Grand Alliance, is evident in that they formally entered, since the making it, into two Treaties of partition, signed by the Pensioner *Heinsius* himself) in which they oblige themselves to wage War against the Emperor and his Adherents, in case he is not satisfied (instead of the whole Monarchy of *Spain*) with the Portions which, without his Knowledge, and against his Will, are assigned to him in those Treaties. And as to the Emperor himself, during several Campaigns of the last War, though the Allies had near 200,000 Men, of which *England* maintained above half, employed in endeavouring to get the Dominion of so great a Part of *Europe* and *America* to his Family, he has not had of his own Troops 9000

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Men; and, which is yet more wonderful, he takes it ill, that being at the same Time Emperor of *Germany*, and Master of above half *Italy*, he is not likewise King of *Sicily*, and Master of the *Indies*: Though the Basis of the Grand Alliance is founded upon this Principle, that these Dominions shall never be united in the Person of him that shall be Emperor, or even King of the *Romans*. He takes this ill of a Queen of *Great Britain*, that contributed essentially to set the Imperial Crown upon his Head, as he himself acknowledges; and he takes it ill too of a Nation that rescued the Empire itself out of the Hands of *France*, and secured it to the Dominion of the *Austrian* Family.

That we may remember how scrupulous all this while our Allies were, as to this Point of not treating, unless in Conjunction with us; and how much they valued any Complaint or Remonstrance which we could make upon this Head, we need but just look back upon the common and known Occurrences of some Years past, even as they stand published and printed in the Shops.

About the Beginning of the Year 1709. † the President *de Rouillé*, with Passports from the States, came to *Antwerp*, and from thence to *Moerdyke*, where Messieurs *de Buys* and *Van Dusen*, delegated by the States, conferred with him privately; and in this clandestine Manner these Deputies continue to act with the *French* Minister till *April*, in which Month the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had never been admitted to confer with *de Rouillé*, and had only taken such Report of the Negotiation as the Pensioner was pleased to give him, came into *England* to give an Account thereof to Her Majesty. In his Grace's Absence, Monsieur *de Torcy* arrived at the *Hague*; the Pensioner advises the Duke thereof by Letter; and upon this Advice, his Grace sets out for the

Hague. The Conferences continue all this while between the *French* Minister and the two *Dutch* Deputies ; for neither the Duke of *Marlborough* or Lord *Townshend* have ever yet seen Monsieur *de Rouillé*, till he is presented to them the 19th of May, by Monsieur *de Torcy*. The *French*, in these three or four Months, made such great Concessions, as gave Hopes of a good and solid Peace : But these Concessions were still rejected. Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough* very seldom vouchsafed to assist at the Meetings appointed : Nor was it very strange that two great Generals, at the Head of 200,000 Men, should not be very fond of quitting the Advantages of those high Stations, for the bare Satisfaction of having their Names printed at the Bottom of a Treaty of Peace.

Monsieur *de Torcy* at last returns to *Paris*, having openly declared above three Weeks before his going from *Holland*, that the Preliminaries, as they were then drawn up, could never be consented to by the King his Master. Notwithstanding all this Procedure, and the repeated Protestations of that Minister on this Subject, in despite of Fact and Probability, we draw up a mock Negotiation, as if already agreed to by *France*, and send it over to be ratified by the Great Seal of *England* ; and to the Wonder, as well as the Laughter of all *Europe*, we find it formally signed, as agreed by the Imperial, *British*, and *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries. Not one Word made of the *French* refusing it ; which, in relation to *England*, carried with it just as good Sense, as if I should get the Writings engrossed for a Man's Estate, who has said he will have nothing to do with me ; or that I should sign a Contract of Marriage on my Part with a Woman, who had three Weeks before fled the Country to avoid my Solicitation.

Happy yet had it been for *Great Britain*, if this Proceeding had proved only ridiculous ; but how dangerous it was likewise, the very Recital of the

Articles will demonstrate. They carry us on to a Point of View, far beyond what was proposed by the Grand Alliance; and whereas we were hitherto obliged to make War only till a reasonable Compensation be got to the Emperor instead of *Spain*, we are not now to lay down our Arms till the House of *Austria* is put into the intire Possession of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy. If *Peru* or *Mexico* now refuse the Dominion of that Family, our Fleets and our Armies are to go thither to conquer these Kingdoms for them. We are at the same Time under such Obligations to the Emperor, as to *Germany*, as may entail a War of fifty Years upon us, and an Expence of seven Millions each of these Years, in case his Imperial Majesty thinks good to hold us to our Bargain: So that without entering into any arithmetical Detail, the third Part of the Recolt and Lands of all *England* is given, and a growing Interest upon it, for the Prolongation of a War, which is now out of our Power to finish; and this too upon no Consideration or Concession to us in the World, on the Emperor's Part. No little *Comtat* or Hans-Town ever acted with such Humility and Submission to the Court at *Vienna*, as the Crown of *Britain* did on this Occasion: 'Tis all Condescension on our Side, and the Emperor's Love is worth the other fifty Millions: Nay, he has not as much as previously honour'd us with the Approbation and Consent of the Empire: It is enough that he will do it as soon as possible, and we honestly believe him, at least upon his *bona Fide*. How well he has acquitted himself in this Point, may, amongst other Articles, be seen in one Particular.

Whilst immediate and peculiar Care was taken of every Article that could be thought to regard the Interest of his Imperial Majesty, or the States General, the State of the Protestant Religion in *Germany* was what as well the late Queen as His present Majesty have frequently declared they had very much at Heart: But in these Preliminaries the

the only Care that was taken in this Behalf, as well by our Calvinistical as Catholic Friends, was, that the Affair is referable to the Negotiations of a General Peace; which is, in plain *English*, that this Article is left fairly to the Decision of the Emperor, the chief Potentate that opposes it. It is to be determin'd at a Tribunal where a Plurality of Roman Catholics preside; and the *French* King is by this excused, if he is found passive in the Matter, under a Notion that That Prince has nothing to do in the Affairs of the Empire. This, by the way, was the special Care taken in these Preliminaries of the Protestant Religion.

In the same Preliminaries we fairly give to the *Dutch* all the Towns in the *Low Countries* to garrison, and all the Revenues of those Countries, to maintain their so doing. From this Moment we proceed upon the most unequal, as well as most unjust Conditions that ever were imposed by Allies, upon a free People, (shall I say?) nay, by Conquerors upon the Vanquished. To continue to fight, is thought the proper and sole Business of the *English*. We are to sustain all the Loss; Strangers are to share all the Advantage, and we are never to think of Peace till they tell us they are weary of the War. At this Price of our Treasure, of our Blood, and indeed of Common Sense, we acquired that great Pennyworth of Glory, which (as Count *Gallas* satirically told Her late Majesty) the Emperor would have bought, if he had had Money enough. And in this Situation our old Friends, so much famed for emblematic Wit, might again have painted us with Lions Claws, but with Calves Heads.

The most melancholy Animadversion yet remains to be made upon these pernicious Preliminaries, ratified on our Part, never so much as signed, or intended to be signed, on the Part of *France*: That upon M. *de Torcy's* Return to *Versailles*, the *French* King sends them to all the Provinces of his Kingdom; shews them to be capacious

in their Tenor, unreasonable as to their Demands, nay, impossible for him to comply with, * and calculated only to make a Separation between that King and *Spain*. The whole People of *France* with all imaginable Zeal consent, Clergy as well as Laity, to augment their Taxes : resolve universally, whether with Reason or no I shall not determine, that the Allies never did intend a Peace, and will fight, *pro aris & focis*, till more reasonable Terms may be proposed : And to shew they are in earnest, they sell their very Plate, raise the Dixmes of their Estates, and supply the King with above a hundred Millions of Livres. The *Spaniards*, at the same Time, for fear of being hereafter dismember'd or abused, as they thought they were by these Proceedings, became so inviolably united to the Interest of *Philip* and his Family, that this Transaction, joined to the surprising Effects of the following Campaign, made it utterly impossible that That Prince should, humanly speaking, be ever removed out of the Dominions of *Spain*, or attacked with any Success in them.

It may not be amiss to observe, that in the Instructions given this Year † to the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townshend*, they are to declare to the Pensioner of *Holland*, and such other Members of the State as may be proper, that no Negotiation of Peace should be entered into with *France* till the Preliminaries were first adjusted between Her Majesty and the States General. Is the Emperor, the King of *Prussia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, or any Prince of the Empire, let into this Secret ? Nay, do not the Instructions particularly say, that this Communication is to be made only to the Pensioner and some of his Favourites ? Does there appear in these Instructions that great Tenderness to all our Allies in general, or that Zeal more particularly for the Emperor's Interest, which

* See Page 287.

† 1709.

flames out with such Force at present, as is likely to set the whole Nation on Fire?

However, thus runs the Instruction, and the Reference from it is very easy. In 1709, the Queen's Plenipotentiaries may not only treat, but conclude with the Pensioner, and such other of the States as may be convenient and necessary, exclusive, as has been already said, of the rest of the Allies: The Plenipotentiaries are neither to regard nor ask if these very Gentlemen of *Holland* have sufficient, or indeed any Power from their Masters. Yet in 1712, the same Queen's whole Council, or such of them as she pleases to nominate, shall not be thought qualified to treat with a Minister of *France*, tho' he comes instructed with as Full Powers as any Minister, even a Prince of the Blood, did or could ever produce from that Crown; and though the Interests of all the Allies were previously taken care of, were mentioned, and (as far as the Nature of the Thing could admit) adjusted, the first Time this Plenipotentiary meets with the Persons thus delegated by Her Majesty.

Towards the latter End of this Year*, the Barrier Treaty was set on Foot: It was contrived, drawn up, and perfected in *Holland*; it is signed by seven of the States General on their Side; amongst whom is the Pensioner *Heinsius*; and on our Side it is signed singly by Lord *Townshend*; his Colleague, our first Plenipotentiary, who had more Precaution and Experience, for very solid Reasons, declining to sign it jointly with him. When this Treaty was sent over, and perused by Those who had then the Honour to be of Her Majesty's Council, tho' the Whole was generally condemned, yet, to keep well with the *Dutch*, as the Phrase at that Time went, it was thought proper to try such Experiment as might, in some measure, rectify the grossest and most visible In-

* 1709.

conveniency in this unequal Stipulation ; by which, in one Word, we were to have had nothing but what, God be thanked ! we had secured to ourselves by our own Laws and Constitutions, and for what we ought to be indebted to no People, or Body of Men, but to our own Parliament ; and to no Cause or Thing, but to the natural Liberty of our Country, and the Providence of God in the Protection of it ; while by the same Treaty the States were to have the *Ufu fruit*, and probably the absolute Possession, of all the *Low Countries*.

To redress or conceal the great Disproportion and Enormity of this Treaty, some explanatory Articles were drawn up, and sent to be inserted with, or added to, the Whole ; but so far were we from being heard on this Occasion, that the Treaty was sent back signed : These Articles, particularly eight of them of the greatest Tenour and Importance, being absolutely exploded and rejected.

When any Man has read these Articles,* he has but to reflect to what sad Extremities the Crown, the Ministry, and the Nation of *Great Britain*, were reduced. The States, without any Restriction or Account, shall garrison and possess not only what they have already, but whatever they shall acquire in *Flanders* during the Progress of the War: *Britain* shall, without any Advantage, without the least Consideration, assist to the completing this Bargain, with all her Wealth, and to the utmost of her Power.

It is here observable, that the Queen offer'd to stipulate with *Holland*, that neither of us should enter into a Treaty with *France* before the entire Monarchy of *Spain* was yielded up as a Preliminary. The *Dutch* refused absolutely to enter into such Agreement, and gave this Reason for their Refusal : That their People would never be brought to consent to it. Yet upon the Report made at the

* Vide G. Coll. of Treaties, Page 490.

Hague * by the *Dutch* Deputies, that the Conferences they had held with the *French* had not met with the Success desired, the Imperial Minister declared, that the Emperor would not consent to any Partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy. And the next Year † he makes the same Declaration, at a Conference of the Allies at *Utrecht*; tho', as I have said, the very Principle upon which the grand Alliance is founded, is, that a reasonable Compensation should be made to the Emperor, in regard to his Pretensions to *Spain*. What is Her Majesty to do now? Insist upon the entire Restitution of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*? The *Dutch* will not come in even to the Proposal. The Queen and Her Ministry must not be released from this Engagement, from which our Allies have so evidently receded: And the People of *Great Britain* are still to be tied down to this hard, this unequal, this impossible Condition; insomuch, that when the Disposition of human Affairs in the two succeeding Years had render'd it infinitely more so than it was at the Time that the *Dutch* made this Refusal, a great Lord confess'd in the Upper House, that the Thing was impossible; but he still urged that it should be insisted on.

The State of Affairs were such at that ‡ Time, that as it appeared to be the Counsel, so was it really the Interest of the Imperialists to prolong the War. 200,000 Men were fighting for them; of which they did not maintain above 10,000: Their Dominions were to be extended by a Victory, and the Loss of a Battle must have kept us longer in a War. This Children call, *Cross I win, Pile you lose*. If the Allies had had the better, the Emperor's Demands had increased. The best we could have expected would have been, that the Congress should have been preferr'd to *Frankfort* or to *Baden*. How good Conditions we

* 1710.

† March 4. 1711-12.

‡ 1712.

Should there have obtained, even as to what related to our own Honour, and how the Demands of *England* would have been regarded, or the Protestant Interest sustained, is evident from what has since been done at the latter of these Places. But turn the Tables: Had we lost the Battle, their End had yet been more effectually gained: *Holland* and *Great Britain* must have renewed and augmented their Strength: The old Argument, that the exorbitant Power of *France* was not yet sufficiently abated, would have been renewed; and we, again frighten'd, must have still gone on in a wild Maze of a destructive Land War.

The Proposal of having *Dunkirk* demolished, our Friends rejected, without vouchsafing to give us any reason for their so doing; tho' this was the only Advantage we proposed to ourselves, or expected to receive on that Side, for all the Victories we had helped them to gain, and for having procured them the almost entire Possession of thirty fortified Places, and ten Provinces.

Hard is the Fate of *Great Britain*, if we are bound and condemned to Terms from which our Allies declare themselves released; if we are obliged to make War for them upon Conditions, which they acknowledge they cannot make their own Subjects perform; and if the States, who would not admit of our having *Dunkirk*, are not only excused, but justified; whilst the Queen's Ministers, for having since obtained it, are not only to be blamed but impeached.

It may be here not improperly observed, That *Dunkirk* is * named as what may require a particular Attention, because this Port and *Calais* are so near, that the Enemy may sail thence to the Coasts of the States, or to those of *Great Britain*, in one Tide: But nothing is said or proposed in Favour of its being demolished. It may be added, that neither during this last or

* See Committee of State,

the precedent War, they would ever consent to the besieging it, tho' we had often proposed this Enterprize to them, and offered to do it at our own Expence.

About the Beginning of the Year 1710, the * *French* Plenipotentiaries arrive in *Holland*, and at *Moerdyke*, *Buys* and *Vander Dussen* meet them. The Conferences which these Deputies hold from Time to Time, are transmitted to the *Hague*, to the Pensionary and some of the Deputies of State; and by these Persons they are communicated to the Imperial and *British* Plenipotentiaries.

The Conferences at *Gertruydenberg*, all *March* and *April*, are carried on in the same Manner; and when in *May* there appeared some Hope that the Negotiation, which had like to have broke off, might be renewed, the Imperial Minister desired to be admitted to the succeeding Conferences; but this was over-ruled; and the Reason given for it was, that the other Ministers, particularly those of *England*, might claim the same Privilege. Not only the Propositions at *Gertruydenberg*, but even the Letter by which the *French* Plenipotentiaries desire to be dismissed, are communicated by the Pensionary only to the Imperial and *British* Ministers; and this Letter is addressed to *Petticum*, who writes them Word again that he had communicated his Letter to them who were intrusted in the Affair, and what the Deputies had related to have passed in the last Conference, had been told to the Ministers of the Allies. What Permission our Ministers had to hear only by second-hand, or what superior Power the Deputies of the States had in the first Place to confer and act with the *French* Plenipotentiaries, I cannot determine. Why *Petticum*, who is an Agent only for the Duke of *Holstein*, had the Negotiation some time trusted to himself alone, is yet more

* The Marshal *d'Uxelles*, and the Abbot *de Polignac*.

astonishing.

astonishing. What appears most plain is, That we were to make War for the *Dutch*, and they to make Peace for us. The definitive Answer of the States to the *French* Memorial, when their Plenipotentiaries were going away, is a Resolution drawn up by some of their Deputies, and communicated to them only: So sure were they of having us agree to whatever they did. And as the *Dutch* were the sole Managers of this Negotiation, and particularly of its breaking off, it is observable that Jealousies began now to be entertained of them in *England*.

New Overtures are made in *June*; the Imperial Plenipotentiary renews his Desires of being admitted, at least to hear what these are, and receives again the like Denial. He says positively, he has an Order from *Vienna* to be thus admitted. He sends an Express on this Subject to Prince *Eugene*, who advises him to act on this Occasion as the *British* Ministers did; that the Queen, who contributed so greatly to the War, was contented to trust this preliminary Negotiation of Peace entirely to the Conduct of the States; and that there could be no harm in his following this good Example.

* The Council of State to the States General declare, That in Affairs of War, Hope and Appearance are not always the right Measures of Success; and that sometimes, how unlikely soever or unpromising the Posture of Affairs may stand, great Events may ensue thereupon. *****

Here the Manuscript ends.

* Nov. 17, 1710.

On the 10th of *June*, 1715, the Day after the Commons Committee made their Report, *Robert Walpole*, Esq; who had been Chairman of that Committee, and of the Committee of Council who examined Mr. PRIOR, moved the House for an Impeachment against MATTHEW PRIOR, Esq; whereupon, on the 17th of the same Month, Mr. PRIOR was ordered into close Custody, and "That no Person should be admitted to see him, "without Leave from the Speaker." And in 1717, when an Act of Grace was passed, Mr. PRIOR, who lay still at the Mercy of the House of Commons, was one of the Persons excepted out of it. But being soon after discharged, he retired wholly from Business, and spent the Remainder of his Days chiefly at his own Villa of *Down-Hall*, or at *Wimpole*, a Seat of the Earl of *Oxford*, where he died on the 18th of *December*, 1721.

I have now nothing more to add of Mr. PRIOR'S, but the State of his Accounts, as a Plenipotentiary Minister, which has been two or three Times referred to in the foregoing Sheets; and to prefix to it a Letter of his to Mr. *Daniel Arthur*, Merchant, concerning the Payment of a Draught for 2000 *l.* which he had made upon the Lord Treasurer *Oxford*, but which had not been answered when the following was writ, notwithstanding the Hopes that had been given him in the * Letters before inserted.

S I R,

Westminster, Oct. 13. 1716.

IN Answer to the Letter you sent me concerning the Bill of 2000 Pound, drawn by me in the Year 1714, from *Paris*, upon the Earl of *Oxford*, then Lord High Treasurer, I must inform you,

That I had Her late Majesty's Orders signified to me by the said Earl, to draw that Bill on

* See Pages 413, 414, 415.

him (as I had done several others before, which were all regularly paid) ; that a Warrant was signed on *Edward Nicholas*, Esq; to pay this in like manner as my other Bills were paid. But by the Removal of the said late Lord Treasurer, and Her Majesty's Death immediately afterwards, the Payment of the said Bill was postponed.

A State of my Demands being by his Grace the Duke of *Shrewsbury* laid before his Majesty on his happy Arrival here, wherein that 2000 Pound was included ; His Majesty was graciously pleased to say, He would give the necessary Directions therein.

The Earl of *Halifax* being afterwards in the Treasury, laid before his Majesty in Council, a new State, which he had ordered to be prepared of what was due to me from the Crown ; upon which His Majesty was pleased to order, that what had incurred since his Accession to the Crown, should be paid immediately out of his Civil List Money ; (which was accordingly done) and that the said 2000 Pound should be paid out of the Arrears of the late Queen's Civil List Money : And this was confirmed to me by two Letters, one from the said Earl of *Halifax*, and the other from Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*.

By all which it appears, that this is a Debt properly demandable from the Crown, and that your Application ought to be to the Lords of the Treasury, to make good the same out of the Arrears of Her late Majesty's Civil List Money. And I cannot doubt but when their Lordships shall see the Equity thereof, they will, in their great Justice and Regard to the public Credit, (which I take to be concerned in this Matter) order the Payment of the said Warrant out of the Arrears of Her late Majesty's Civil List Money. I am, Sir, &c.

The State of Mr. PRIOR's Account.

MR. PRIOR went
for *France* the
1st of *August*, 1712, from
whence to the first of
November, 1714, is two
Years and a Quarter, in
which Time there hath
been paid on his Bills

l. s. d.
11810 0 0

And he hath drawn
other Bills, which are
yet unpaid, for

4458 0 0

The Pay of an Ambassador for that
Time, and for his Ordinary Bills of
Extraordinaries, would amount to

l. s. d.
16268 0 0

15300 0 0

So that he hath exceeded that of
Ambassador, by

968 0 0

The Pay of a Plenipotentiary for
that Time would be only 7918 l. and
his Exceedings, reckoning that Way,
would be

8350 0 0

Mr. PRIOR in his Letter seems
to give an Account only of eight
Months, as tho' these Bills for
4458 l. were drawn for that Time;
and if it should be looked upon,
that the Sum of 11810 l. paid by
Warrants of the late Lord Trea-
surer, the Earl of *Oxford*, was ac-
counted for to him, then the Ac-
count as an Ambassador for those
eight Months, would be

4533 6 8

And these Bills being

4458 0 0

Will

Will be less than the Pay of an }
Ambassador by

l. s. d.

75 6 8

But the Pay of a Plenipotentiary }
for that Time, would be only }
2346 l. 13 s. 4 d. so that he will }
have exceeded that of Plenipotentiary }
by

2112 6 0

MR. PRIOR, in Excuse of this large Demand, lays before your Lordships several extraordinary Expences, which in the said eight Months amount to 16135 Livres, viz.

Celebrating Her late Majesty's	}	3100
Coronation Day		
Mourning for the Duke of Berry		1935
Ditto for Her late Majesty		3300
Expences at Fontainebleau		4400
Celebrating His Majesty's Coro-	}	3400
nation		

16135 Livres.

Which is about 942 l. Sterling.

From the End of August, 1712, to	}	4 Months.
December following		
From Decemb. 1712, to Decemb. 1713.		13 Months.
From Decemb. 1713, to August, 1714.		7 Months.

24

Ambassador	l.	15300
Equipage		1500
Plate		1800
Mourning for the Duke of	}	300
Berry and for the Queen		
about		

Whereas

Whereas Mr. PRIOR from ——— to ———
is charged, &c.

Altho' he has not had the Advantages allowed
to Ambassadors, as is alledg'd.

One hundred and four Weeks from }
August 1712, to August 1714, at } 10400 0 0
100 l. per Week ordinary Enter- }
tainment.

Mourning, &c. about 300 0 0

Wanting 10700 0 0
1660 0 0

Parliament 12360 0 0

In the following Letter of Mr. Drift's to the
Earl of Oxford, (found among the other Papers
contained in this Volume) we have a candid
Testimony that Mr. PRIOR was not mistaken in
these Words of his last Will; *My Lord Harley
will be juster towards all with whom he deals, and
kinder to my Friends, than any other Man I leave
behind me in the World*; as well as of the sincere
Regard paid by Mr. Drift to the Memory of his
dear Master, as he affectionately calls him, and
of the Genuineness of the Manuscripts written
in the same Hand, or received from the same
Quarter.

*A Letter to the Right Honourable EDWARD Earl
of OXFORD, with an Account depending between
his Lordship, and Adrian Drift.*

*When to the World lov'd PRIOR bad adieu,
And on bright Cherubs' Wings to Heaven flew, }
Poor Drift's Concern, my Lord, he left to you ;
To you, my Lord, of all his Friends, the best,
Most just, most kind:—Thus, dying, Drift he
blest.*

And

Mr. DRIFT's Letter to

*And thus, great Guardian, blest, on you depends
The future Weal of Drift, O OXFORD, best of
Friends.*

My Lord,

HAVING had the Honour the first Day of *August*, 1723, to present a Book to you, containing a State of the Accompts depending between your Lordship and myself, when the said Accompt was settled, (to which I beg leave to refer you) exclusive of another Accompt put into your Lordship's Hands by Mr. *Oliver Martin*, concerning Timber - Trees, Grubbed Wood, Bricks, &c. (Chattels at *Down Hall*) a true Copy of which is hereunto annexed; as is likewise an Abstract of all the Effects chosen by your Lordship, as well there as at *London*; the very low Appraisement whereof, you had the Goodness (not long after you had made such Choice from the Inventory) to tell me in the most gracious Manner, should be considered. Since when having received several Sums of Money of your Lordship, and in *November* last your farther Command to make up my Accompts a-new, and to lay them before you; I do, in Obedience thereto, now transmit to you, my Lord, a faithful State of them, as they at present stand, Errors excepted, from the aforementioned 1st of *August*, 1723, to the 25th of *March*, 1726, humbly submitting the several Articles contained in the said Accompts to your Lordship's candid Examination and Consideration; praying, at the same Time, that when you have gone through the whole, you will be pleased to signify your final Pleasure to me thereupon; when, my Lord, I shall proceed without Delay to settle my Affairs in Life! A Life that would have been led in much Anxiety, had you not been so infinitely kind as to alleviate the same by your Countenance and Favour; and thereby rendering the great Loss of my late Dear Master,

Master, less grievous to him, who prays Permission to repeat, that he is with everlasting Duty and Gratitude,

My Lord, Your Lordship's, &c.

ADAMIAN DRIFT.

N. B. *Mr. PRIOR's Estate at Down-Hall reverted, after his Death, to the Earl of Oxford, then Lord HARLEY, who likewise bought the most valuable of his Pictures, Medals, &c. of which Mr. PRIOR had by Will given Him the Preference.*

Though the following Piece has no immediate relation to Mr. PRIOR's History, yet as it seems to have been kept by him and his Executor as a curious Anecdote, and perhaps is not to be met with in any printed Collection, we hope our Readers will not think it a Fault that we preserve it at the End of this Volume, by way of Appendix, with an *English* Translation, for the Use of those who are unacquainted with the Original.

Copie de la Lettre de Monsieur Stanhope, au General St. Saphorin.

De Londres, le 4 Novemb. 1718.

‘ **N**OUS avons receu vos lettres du 26me
‘ *Octobre*, N. S. et le courier de Monsieur
‘ *Bentenreider* nous a porté celles du 29me, que
‘ nous detaillent les raisons qui persuadant l’Empe-
‘ reur qu’il ne peut retenir la Princesse *Sobiecki*.
‘ Monsieur *Bentenreider* nous a fait là dessus toutes
‘ les memes representations, & Sa Majesté voit
‘ avec peine l’embarras que l’arrest de cette Prin-
‘ cesse attirera à l’Empereur. Mais s’il doit souhai-
‘ ter qu’il en sorte, c’est par un tout autre chemin
‘ que celui que l’on offre. Il est trop evident que
‘ tous.

tous ceux qui se donnent tant de mouvements pour
 procurer l'accomplissement de ce mariage, ne s'en
 donneroient pas moins pour faire valoir dans la
 suite les liaisons de sang, que le Pretendant con-
 trafteroit par la, meme querelles les animeroit
 de meme, et l'Empereur doit par toutes fortes
 de motifs d'amitié et d'intérêt couper court à des
 sollicitations et des effets dont il se ressentiroit luy-
 même le premier, par les justes ombrages aux
 quels il donneroit lieu.

Mais outre la partie considerable que le Pre-
 tendant se formeroit au dehors par ce mariage,
 et les esperances dangereuses que cela nourroit
 dans les malaffectionnez de la nation ; les bons
 serviteurs et fideles sujets du Roy eux-mêmes ne
 ne pourroient en tirer que des consequences fu-
 nestes de la demarche à laquelle l'Empereur de-
 mande que Sa Majesté donne les mains. Nous avons
 toujours regardé les intérêts du Roy comme insépa-
 rables d'avec ceux de l'Empereur et il est vray que
 l'Empereur a paru être dans le même système de son
 coté ; mais en tout ce qu'il a fait jusqu'icy conséque-
 ment à ce système luy seul étoit intéressé personnelle-
 ment, et il n'a proprement fait que Permettre que
 le Roy luy servit à ses risques, à ses depens, et à
 travers mille contradictions. Je avoue que le Roy
 l'a fait autant en vue du bien public que par son
 attachement à l'Empereur : mais l'Empereur en
 a tiré des avantages particuliers et tres essen-
 tielles, et Sa Majesté les luy a procurés avec
 plaisir ; qu'en échange l'on examine ce que l'
 Empereur a fait pour le Roy en son particulier,
 l'on ne trouvera que ce seul arrest de la Princesse
Sobiefski. Le Roy n'y est pas moins sensible pour
 cela, et il est même prêt à faire valoir cette
 marque d'amitié pour pousser ses vœux en faveur
 de l'Empereur. Mais à peine la Princesse *Sobiefski*
 a-t-elle été arrestée que l'Empereur propose de la
 relacher ; il ne veut pas qu'on infere de là qu'il
 ait plus de ménagement pour le Pretendant que
 pour le Roy, mais le seul motif qu'il en peut al-
 leguer,

' leguer, s'il l'emporteroit une fois sur les vrais in-
 ' terests, nous prepareroit biená des pires conse-
 ' quences. C'est que sa conscience seroit chargée
 ' s'il retenoit la femme d'autrui. Or, si les eccle-
 ' siastiques gaignoient une fois sur luy de la faire
 ' concourir à un mariage qu'ils pretendent être va-
 ' lide selon leurs canons, il n'y auroit plus de fin à
 ' leurs arguments, et ils auroient la même facilité
 ' à luy prouver qu'il doit en conscience concourir
 ' à rendre des royaumes à celuy à qui il viendrait
 ' à rendre une epouse et une parente. Nous aurions
 ' bien à repondre à ceux qui concluroient ainsi dans
 ' le parlement, que l'Empereur observe religieuse-
 ' ment ses traites : Sa Majesté Imperiale auroit fait
 ' connoître qu'une conscience maniée par le clergé
 ' catholique degage de tous les liens d'amitié, et
 ' de l'alliance, de sorte que dans le cas qu'on nous
 ' propose la question ne se reduit pas à moins qu'à
 ' scavoir si l'Empereur à déjà opté ou non entre le
 ' Roy et le Pretendant. Je suis bien sieur que l'
 ' Empereur n'a pas pensé à mettre ce choix en
 ' question quand il a souhaité de pouvoir relacher
 ' la Princesse *Sobiefski* ; mais lorsqu'il y aura meu-
 ' rement reflexé, il verra bien qu'il ne peut pas y
 ' avoir de milieu dans la situation ou le Roy se
 ' trouve, et qu'il faut absolument en être tout en-
 ' tier pour Sa Majesté au tout pour son ennemi. Ce
 ' n'est pourtant point que le Roy songe à violenter
 ' la conscience de l'Empereur ; mais à juger saine-
 ' ment, la conscience doit nous faire éviter le plus
 ' grand de deux maux, comme la prudence doit
 ' nous faire choisir le moindre de deux inconveni-
 ' ences. D'ailleurs il est sieur que le mariage n'est
 ' pas allé si loin que le Prince *Jaques* veut le faire
 ' accroire ; il doit être justement suspect sur ce fait,
 ' et nous scavons par des voies plus seures, et sur
 ' tout par des Lettres interceptées de la maison du
 ' Pretendant même, que le mariage devoit seule-
 ' ment être beni à *Bologne*. Mais quand même ce
 ' seroit une *matrimonium ratum*, comme le Prince
 ' le pretend, au moins n'est il pas consommé. Il

' y à cent exemples que le Pape à dissolue de pa-
 ' reils mariages pour de bien moindres sujets ; et
 ' la conduite que le Pape à toujours tenue, tant
 ' par rapport à l'Empereur que par rapport au Roy,
 ' merite bien qu'on ne luy epargne pas là le devoir ;
 ' et les moyens pour le mortifier en cas de refus ne
 ' nous manqueront pas. Ajoutez y que si des ma-
 ' riages clandestinement benis doivent absolument
 ' subsister, et obliger en conscience à l'entradition
 ' de l'epousée, les Archiduchesses ne seroient plus
 ' en seureté dans le palais même de l'Empereur.
 ' Le mariage de la Princesse *Sobieſki* avec le Pre-
 ' tendant ou empeche ou rompu, que l'une prenne
 ' ensuite un autre mari, et l'autre une autre fem-
 ' me ; toujours l'Empereur auroit prevenu les suites
 ' to inevitables aux quelles il s'exposerit et son
 ' meilleur ami s'il s'avançoit la jonction de ces deux
 ' personnes ; et Sa Majesté Imperiale aura sans doute
 ' suffisamment dequoy porter le Pape à calmer sa
 ' conscience, en la dispensant d'une loy qui n'oblige
 ' qu' autant qu'il trouve à propos.

' Ainsi, Monsieur, comme vous êtes pleinement
 ' informé, tant par cette lettre que par mes prece-
 ' dentes, des sentiments du Roy sur le susdit mari-
 ' age, vous ne manquerez pas d'en faire à la cour
 ' imperiale toutes les representations necessaires et
 ' proportionnées aux inconveniens ou Sa Majesté en-
 ' visage : nous nous en sommes enclinez de même
 ' avec Monsieur de *Bentenreider* ; et ce ministre
 ' feût bien de quelle importance il nous est de ne
 ' laisser même entrevoir à personne vers l'ouverture
 ' de notre parlement qu'il peut seulement être que-
 ' stion du relachement de la Princesse *Sobieſki*. Je
 ' suis, &c.

Signé STANHOPE.

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*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Secretary Stanhope to
General St. Saphorin.*

London, Nov. 4. 1718.

WE have received your Letters of the 26th of October, N. S. and M. Bentenreider's Courier brought us those of the 29th, containing the Reasons which persuade the Emperor that he cannot detain the Princess *Sobieski*. M. Bentenreider has made here the same Representations on that Head, and His Majesty sees with Concern, the Difficulties which the Detention of that Princess will bring on the Emperor. But tho' He cannot but wish these may be avoided, He wishes it by a Way very different from that which has been proposed. It is too evident that all those who take so much Pains to procure the Accomplishment of this Marriage, would not take less hereafter to enforce the Validity of those Ties of Blood which the Pretender would thereby contract; the Engagements would be equally strong, and the Emperor ought, by all the Motives of Friendship and Interest, to put a Stop to those Solicitations and Effects, the Consequences of which himself would feel the first, thro' the just Umbrages to which his Conduct must give birth.

But besides the considerable Party which the Pretender would form abroad by this Marriage, and the dangerous Hopes that it would foment in the Ill-affected here at home; His Majesty's faithful Servants and good Subjects themselves could not but draw fatal Consequences from this Step, to which the Emperor requires His Majesty to give his consent. We have always regarded the King's Interests as inseparable from those of the Emperor; and it is true that the Emperor, on his Part, has appeared of the same Sentiment; but in all that he has done hitherto, in consequence of this System, himself alone was personally

ally interested, and, properly speaking, he has only permitted the King to serve him at his own Hazard and Expences, and in Spite of a thousand Obstacles. I confess the King has done this as much with a View to the public Good, as from his Attachment to the Emperor; but the Emperor has drawn from it particular and very essential Advantages, which His Majesty has procured him with Pleasure. Let us examine, in return, what the Emperor has done for the King, and we shall find this Arrest of the Princess *Sobieski* to be the only Instance. His Majesty, however, is not the less sensible of the Kindness, and is willing to receive this single Mark of Friendship as an Equivalent for extending his Views yet farther in the Emperor's Favour. But the Princess is no sooner arrested, than the Emperor proposes to release her. He would not have it inferred from thence, that he has more regard for the Pretender than for the King: But the only Motive that he can allege, if it should once get the better of real Interest, would be productive of yet worse Consequences: It is, that his Conscience would be burthened, if he should detain another Man's Wife. If the Ecclesiastics once carry this Point, to make him concur in a Marriage, because they pretend it is valid according to their Canons, there will afterwards be no end to their Arguments; and they will with the same Facility prove to him, that he ought to contribute in bestowing Kingdoms on that Man, to whom he has just before given a Wife and a Relation. It would be in vain for us to answer those who might reason thus in Parliament, "That the Emperor religiously observes his Treaties;" when His Imperial Majesty had made it manifest, that a Conscience managed by the Catholic Clergy, dissolves all the Bands of Friendship and Alliance. The present Question, in short, amounts only to this; "To know whether the Emperor has, or has not, hitherto made his Choice betwixt the King and the Pretender".

I am

I am very sure that the Emperor never thought of putting this Choice in Question, when he wished he might release the Princess *Sobieski*. But when he has maturely reflected upon it, he will see that there can be no Medium in the King's present Situation; and that he must absolutely become either wholly for His Majesty, or wholly for his Enemy. Not that the King ever dreamed of violating the Emperor's Conscience: But to judge impartially, Conscience should make us shun the greatest of two Evils, as Prudence should make us chuse the least of two Inconveniences. Besides, it is certain, that this Marriage is not gone so far as Prince *James** would have it believed: He ought justly to be suspected on this Head, and we have more sure Ways of knowing, particularly by Letters intercepted from the Pretenders's own Family, that the Marriage was only to be *blest* at *Bologne*. But even if it were *Matrimonium ratum*, as the Prince pretends, at least it is not consummated. There are an hundred Examples of the Pope's having dissolved such Marriages, upon much less weighty Occasions; and the Pope, by his continual Conduct, as well with regard to the Emperor as to the King, does not deserve to be excused his Duty herein; nor do we want the Means of mortifying him, in Case of a Refusal. Add to this, that if Marriages clandestinely *blest*, ought absolutely to subsist, and to oblige in Conscience to the Delivery of the Bride, the Archduchesses would be no longer safe, even in the Imperial Palace. The Princess *Sobieski*'s Marriage with the Pretender being either obstructed or dissolved, she may afterwards take another Husband, and he another Wife; the Emperor will have effectually prevented those inevitable Consequences, to which he will expose himself and his best Friends, if he promotes the Union of these two Persons; and his Imperial Majesty,

* *Sobieski*.

doubtless, will have Means enough to induce the Pope to calm his Conscience, by dispensing with a Law which can oblige only so far as he finds it convenient.

Thus Sir, being fully informed, as well by this Letter as by my preceding, of the King's Sentiments upon the said Marriage, you will not fail to make all the necessary Representations thereof at the Imperial Court; Representations proportioned to the Inconveniences which His Majesty foresees. We shall do the same here to M. *Benzeneider*; and that Minister well knows of what Importance it is to us, towards the Opening of our Parliament; not to let it even be suspected that the Release of the Princess was ever brought into Debate.

I am, &c.

STANHOPE.

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